

A Modern Story: Girl Guides, Feminism And The Cookie Jar

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

AUGUST 9, 1993 \$2.50

Maclean's

CHEATERS

**How Dodging
Taxes Feeds
A Growing
Underground
Economy**





Fortunately, it
was brand new.

Purchase Security Insurance

Buy it on a Gold Visa® card and your purchase is completely covered against damage or theft for 90 days.* For many more good reasons why you should carry a Gold Visa card, visit a Visa financial institution. It'll be your lucky day.



It's the only card you need.™

*Required Security Insurance (RSI) is available on all Gold Visa® cards. Coverage is provided for 90 days from the date of purchase. Coverage is not available for certain items, including but not limited to: cash, jewelry, firearms, and other items. Coverage is also not available for items purchased from unauthorized dealers. For more information, visit www.visa.com. ©2005 Visa U.S.A. Inc. All rights reserved.

The Bank of Nova Scotia, CIBC, La Caixa de Pensiones de Cuentas de Ahorro, American Bank, Royal Bank, TD Bank, Visa

WHAT'S NUTRASWEET® GOOD FOR?



Your body has one answer

NutraSweet is made up of the same ingredients found in many of the wholesome foods you eat every day, so your body knows to treat NutraSweet naturally.

Just as it would a peach, banana or glass of milk.

Your body also knows that NutraSweet is good

for enjoying the things you like to eat — without all of the unnecessary calories. Look for the NutraSweet® brand sweetener used on all sorts of soft drinks, yogurt, frozen desserts, juices and jams.

Eating what you like and still eating right has never been easier

A GOOD THING YOUR BODY KNOWS.



SOFT DRINK



STRAWBERRY



PEACH



YOGURT



JUICE



SOFT DRINK

©1993 The NutraSweet Company. NutraSweet and the NutraSweet symbol are registered trademarks of The NutraSweet Company.

Maclean's

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS

8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

11 COLUMN: FRED BRUNING

12 CANADA

Angry Nova Scotians hammer back a Russian trader to draw attention to the plight of their industry. Preston Manning seeks to reverse the Reform party's flagging fortunes. A federal panel says that violence against women has reached crisis proportions

18 COVER

26 WORLD

Israel unleashes its fury against southern Lebanon's Islamic militants. Bill Clinton has rocky relations with American blacks. Israel's Supreme Court acquits John Demjanjuk of Holocaust crimes during the Holocaust.

32 BUSINESS

An industry forces hard choices in Ontario, the better social contract talks are mired in uncertainty. IBM and Northern Telecom grapple with plans for massive staff layoffs

38 BUSINESS WATCH: PETER C. NEWMAN

47 PEOPLE

48 SPORTS

Ottawa, often branded as a cold-blooded hater of lacrosse, embraces baseball's minor league Lynx with a consuming passion

49 SPORTS WATCH: TRINT HAYNE

50 TRENDS

52 FILMS

The summer's real action heroes are men over 50— notably Sean Connery and Harrison Ford

54 MUSIC

While taking Joan Jett explores sexual ambiguity with a new album

56 FOTHEREINGHAM

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE AUGUST 9, 1993 VOL. 108 NO. 32



A nation of cheaters

18 By smuggling cigarettes and liquor, by paying cash for house renovations and hardworking, Canadians are escaping taxes and learning to survive in a booming underground economy that almost equals the size of Ontario's annual budget deficit. Garth Turner, the new revenue minister, vows to crack down on tax evaders. But the growth in tax evasion is changing Canadians' self-image as law-abiding people

Brewing up a storm

32 U.S. and Canadian trade negotiators are making limited progress with their restricted efforts to resolve a bitter year-long beer war. The traditional beer discussions are complicated by stubborn interprovincial trade barriers and by the resistance of the provinces to accept U.S. proposals for a truce.



A modern story

50 Canada's Girl Guides are changing their ways, learning about employment equity, child rape, self-defence, starting a business, and how to relieve stress through yoga. The girls may come in handy: not only are members competing with the conventional Scouts for new members, but many Guides believe their local troops, called units, should be getting a bigger share of the revenue from cookie sales.



FORWARDED: postmaster, send no change of address notice to Maclean's P.O. Box 1400, Toronto, Ontario M5G 1A4. For more info, call 1-800-387-5252. Subscription rate: \$14.95 per year.

No story here, boss

I was not so many months ago that the legendary "Ottawa sources" were putting out the word of imminent financial collapse of Canada. In that scenario of chaos, the dollar would fall, the deficit would soar and the Japanese would pull their investments out of Canada. At that, the "sources" said, Canada would have



Quebec demonstration shows that did not happen

been able to pay out the money and the International Monetary Fund would move into the country and take over. It was a curious spectacle—well-rehearsed and apocalyptic officials almost gleefully taking down Canada's aches. The accompanying scene to be another one of those examples where a notorious dissembler managed to incite the national media into doing stories for them or purposes—in this case to spread fear and barking so much that people would be a mere or even road for budget cuts. Admittedly, the extent of information at concern about Canada's debt was—and is—high and real. But last week came some reassuring statistics, at least as far as the same stories are concerned, in an annual report the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo revealed that in the fiscal year that ended on March 31—personally while the taxpayers were warring of the well-due contractors—Japan's investment in Canada didn't even increase by 10 billion yen (\$60 million). Admittedly, the investors may have picked Canada as the leader of many only that pick Canada they did. For now the stock is over—and the end road of staying.

That is all part of a healthy tradition of things not happening as forecast in the media and led by "sources." After all the too-to this spring about the federal deficit and the IMF, even after then Finance Minister Don Mazankowski's April 28 budget projected a new deficit this year that is still over \$20 billion, not only did budget investment to increase to grow but, on June 3, Moody's Investment Service in New York City reaffirmed Canada's top triple-A credit rating. Good indeed!

"Several months published reports have grossly exaggerated Canada's fiscal risk position."

A more glowing example of misplaced hype was the frenzied buildup to the referendum on the Charlottetown constitutional accord last fall. While the chattering classes agonized, the media buzzed with a running stream of dire predictions of burning. Yet, after the Yes votes crashed and burned, Canadians defied the script of gloom and sorrow into yet another summer. The exaggeration of political consequences is not a habit unique to Canada. In the heated waters up to the 1991 Gulf War Saddam Hussein was going to unleash lakes of burning oil and chemical weapons on hapless advancing troops of the allied forces. But Canada would never recover from the personal scandal of its alleged offer with Iraq. Gordon Flanagan, Iraq's industrial minister, would transform the CFC. Some predictions do have some truth. But, with apologies to Marshall McLuhan, lady the future isn't what it used to be.

Robert Lewis

McGraw-Hill

CANADA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL

Editorial Board

Board of Editors: Carl Hovland, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to North America; Michael Gifford, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to South America; Margaret Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Europe; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Africa; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Asia; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Australia; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to New Zealand; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Pacific; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Middle East; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Caribbean; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Americas; Anne-Marie Macgregor, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the World.

Senior Editors: Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to North America; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to South America; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Europe; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Africa; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Asia; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to Australia; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to New Zealand; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Pacific; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Middle East; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Caribbean; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the Americas; Peter C. Reynolds, (McGraw-Hill) Editor
to the World.

Assistant Editors: Joe Chaffey, Scott Steele

Editors: David C. Ross, Eugene Irving, Robert

Leahy, Robert, John Deane, Michael, Barry, Gary

Smith, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

David, David, David, David, David, David, David

Video Composition: Judy Hovland

Assistant to the Editor: David Hovland

Editorial Assistant: David Hovland

Correspondence: David Hovland

Reprints: David Hovland

Advertising: David Hovland

Subscription: David Hovland

Index: David Hovland

Copyright: David Hovland

Printed in: David Hovland

Published by: David Hovland

Editorial Board: David Hovland

Assistant Editors: David Hovland

Editors: David Hovland

Assistant Editors: David Hovland

Editors: David Hovland

Assistant Editors: David Hovland

Editors: David Hovland

Assistant Editors: David Hovland

Editors: David Hovland

Assistant Editors: David Hovland

Editors: David Hovland

Everyone out there promises the royal treatment

We think the idea is to offer elegance in a down-to-earth atmosphere. Whether it's a Broadway show or one of our many sports activities, everything we do centers around letting you be yourself! After all, it's not much fun



NORWEGIAN
CRUISE LINE

working in a crown, or doing a book shot in a cage. For more on our world 3, 4 and 7-day sailings to the Caribbean, Bahamas, Bermuda and the Mexican Riviera, see your travel agent, or call 1 (800) 367-5532 Norwegian Cruise Line. Elegant, yes. Saffly, never!

LETTERS

Substance abuse

As a former spouse of an alcoholic wife, I read with much interest "The battle of addiction" (Special Report, July 15). For many of the almost 20 years we were married, I lived in discomfort and dealt with my wife's illness. But everything I tried didn't seem to help. It was only through AA-Ala, a self-help program for families of alcoholics, that I was able to eventually make the decisions that had to be made to ensure a better life for me and my family.

M. A. Savel,
Nashua



Drinking addiction 'decisions'

Your feature exploring addiction failed to even consider Canada's most widely used addictive drug—nicotine. Approximately 16 million Canadians currently use tobacco products, and the vast majority of them become addicted to nicotine before they were legally old enough to purchase these products. Nicotine kills around 60,000 Canadians each year. By contrast, the death toll from illegal drug use totaled only 430 in 1988.

Dr. Wank C. Ziegler,
President, Physicians for a
Smoke-Free Canada,
Ottawa

'A real lesson'

In reference to your article "A death in the family" (Cover, July 18), I would like to say I am 16 and I do not feel safe at night because there are some people who think it's OK to kill someone. I believe that they need to be taught a real lesson, not just a slap on the hand. If they are old enough to take life away, then they are old enough to live their own.

Alexis-Jo Gosselin,
Calgary, Alta.

A mother's plea for justice

I am writing regarding the article "A death in the family" (Cover, July 18). On April 12, 1991, our 14-year-old daughter, Pamela, was beaten to death, raped and thrown in the Grimsby River. Pam was missing for six days and six nights before a dog search-and-rescue team found her. The perpetrator was a 17-year-old boy. He was tried as an adult but, due to changes in the Criminal Code, he had to be sentenced as a "young person" instead of a minimum 25-year sentence; he will be eligible for parole in eight years. If a criminal is tossed to adult court, he should be sentenced as an adult. The person who murdered our beautiful, intelligent, athletic daughter could be free in less than eight years. Is this justice? I think not.

Gail Bischoff,
Grimsby, N.B.

Real women

Barbara Asari's *charismatic* pretending knowledge of "The real concerns of modern women" (Kaleidos, July 29) by not including it in a report on gender equality in the Canadian legal system is an indication as to how far away from the real world of modern women's complexly tangled lives today can be things? Where does Asari get this stuff? Where I live, girls help with the plumbing and carpentry, cook and clean, and support to university education. Perhaps Ms. Asari's struggles are behind her, and living in the comfort zone has just her out of touch.

David Mowbray,
Plover, Ont.

I am university educated, yet I can't boil water or take laundry and am only proficient with household gadgets that are basically designed for the mechanically apt. I am glad that there are more opportunities for women yet I can't help but envy men and women from the earlier generations who were so self-reliant.

Annel Mack,
Pembroke, Ont.

Allies or enemies?

Having just read your Special Report "Assassination in Sicily" (July 22), I want to thank you for clearing up the doubt that I have carried in my heart for 50 years. The British Army told us in 1943 that my only brother, 22, went missing and then, six months later, we heard that his body had been found on the coast of Sicily. As a paratrooper, he must have been in one of the British gliders that were accidentally cut loose by the Americans too soon. I knew that if he had died through enemy action, it would be easier to take them through the consciences of Second World War Allies.

David Davies,
Salt Spring Island, B.C.

Letter may be reprinted. Please include name, address and daytime telephone. Write: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Attention: Reader Service, 227 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 2B2. Or fax: (416) 593-7738.

Maclean's

Canada's Essential Newspaper

Publisher: STEVE BATES

Director of Advertising Sales: Charles E. Hodgson
Sales Manager: J. Robert Murray (Sales Rep.)
Manager: Joyce E. Bates (Sales Rep.)
Sales Representative: Joyce E. Bates (Sales Rep.)
Sales Representative: Joyce E. Bates (Sales Rep.)
Sales Representative: Joyce E. Bates (Sales Rep.)
Sales Representative: Joyce E. Bates (Sales Rep.)

Director of Business Operations: James H. Brown
Director of Marketing & Research: J. Robert Murray
Director of Production & Communications: J. Robert Murray
Director of Research Services: James H. Brown
Manager: J. Robert Murray (Sales Rep.)
Manager: J. Robert Murray (Sales Rep.)
Manager: J. Robert Murray (Sales Rep.)
Manager: J. Robert Murray (Sales Rep.)

Maclean's is a multiplatform media company.
Maclean's Media Group Publishing

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown
President: James H. Brown

Extra-easy renewals!

Maclean's "Continuous Renewal" service will save you time and trouble — and prevent missed issues too. Just prior to your expiry date, you'll receive a single notice, confirming that — as per your request — the next year's subscription has been automatically billed to your credit card. Of course, you're still free to cancel at any time and be refunded for any unmailed issues. To find out more, or sign up, call our toll-free number:



1-800-268-6811

In the Toronto area, call (905) 523-3333

Maclean's

Canada's Essential Newspaper

Moving?

These days, you don't want to risk missing even a single issue of Canada's favorite newspaper. To make sure your Maclean's subscription follows you to your new home with no interruptions, send us your new address at least a month before you move. Use the Subscriber Service coupon in the first few pages of each issue — or place our toll-free number:



1-800-268-6811

In the Toronto area, call (905) 523-3333

Maclean's

Canada's Essential Newspaper

WE BRING CANADA to LONDON daily.

In Europe, we also serve Manchester, Paris, Munich, Frankfurt, Milan and Rome. And our summer schedule includes over 50 flights per week to Bangkok.

Canadian
Canadian Airlines International

Canada is a registered trademark of Canadian Airlines International Ltd.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Province _____ Postal Code _____

Phone/Fax _____

Call toll free 1-800-358-0811
100-1000 in Toronto
10 a.m. - 7 p.m. EST
or send to: Bookers & Bookers, Box 4063
St. C. Toronto, Canada M5H 2B6

J.A. Henckels.
As sharp today as in 1840.



J.A. Henckels.
Just as sharp generations from now.



The name J.A. Henckels tells of a heritage born over 250 years ago. Of the invention of an ice-hardening technology called *Produr®*. Of craftsmanship, honed to perfection in Solingen, Germany. Which is why the best cutlery in the world will be just as sharp generations from now.

If you'd like to know more, send for our free brochure: J.A. Henckels, Dept. BM-7, 60 McPherson Street, Markham, Ontario L3R 3V6.

 **ZWILLING**
J.A. HENCKELS
THE WORLD'S FINEST CUTLERY SINCE 1731



AN AMERICAN VIEW



The playing fields of uncaring greed

BY FRED BRUNNING

It may be too easy to say that George Steinbrenner is what ails big league baseball, but the idea isn't far wrong. Lately, Steinbrenner has been throwing up—again—to move the New York Yankees from their ancestral home in the Bronx. He argues, in so far as reasonable belief, that parking around Yankee Stadium is unsatisfactory, and hints that the neighborhood is not up to his imperial standards. If things don't improve, Steinbrenner suggests he will pack his ball club off to the workbenches of New Jersey, where the automobile can reign supreme and drive from the suburbs can gather in pure tranquillity and peace of mind.

Steinbrenner claims of course that folks from the outer counties are wary about setting foot in the Bronx, that they suffer a "perception" of danger and are hesitant to frequent the stadium neighborhood as have generations of Yankee faithful before them. Can't blame for good folks for worrying, in the sense you get from Steinbrenner. People have a right to personal safety.

Thus in nice talk, pure and simple. The consistently avoid the stadium is "terrorism," and Don George, who hails from the suburbs of Cleveland and resides in that great urban melting pot, Tampa, Fla., may not appreciate the Bronx either any more than his infant customers do any conversation regarding the location of Yankee Stadium in which Steinbrenner rolls out the subject of "perceived" dangers to really a conversation about white people coming into a neighborhood of Latinos and blacks. How terribly unconvincing for George Steinbrenner that the New York Yankees play in New York.

In his lectures on sociology and attendance, the city Steinbrenner rarely addresses the obvious. Although the 1993 Yankees are performing admirably, the crowds of recent years scattered more often on the dashed than in the streets around the stadium.

Baseball is more valuable than the sum of its shortsighted owners and slouchy, halfhearted players. Baseball is us.

Disheartened Yankee partisans no doubt are still in a period of adjustment. Likewise, Steinbrenner fails to mention that many clubs are struggling through the lingering long-term recession and that attendance slipped at 16 of 26 major league parks in 1993. Nor does he acknowledge that he, alone, may be the reason crowds are not all ways robust. Still another few leads in the pockets of Cleveland and George Steinbrenner? Some New Yorkers would sooner encounter ball players off the Triborough Bridge.

If the greatest city in the world fails to meet his expectations, why not let George Steinbrenner retreat? Go, already, take the train to beautiful downtown East Rutherford, N.J., where the so-called "New York" football Giants and the so-called "New York" football Jets already make millions of bucks betraying their Big Apple heritage. One is tempted to say, take the Yankees over in traffic if you choose. Play the franchise of Rich Gelfand and DeMaggio in San Jose or Albuquerque or Omaha. Who cares? Take them if you must, like Walter O. Mailey took the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1958, to wherever you can take in the name on seats and scorecards and group bookings around like any other. Has the road

But the Yankees are more precious than Steinbrenner, as baseball is more valuable than the sum of its shortsighted owners and slouchy, halfhearted players. Baseball is, in an ever has been, a unique and splendid expression of the American soul, a nearly impossible cohesion of speed and slow motion, of beauty and blunders of strategy and individuality. Let the postmodernists call it boring and lame and logically include the game in an age when television infinitely purifies fresh images before our eyes every three seconds and everyone from garage attic darts to gourmet cooks is cringed in front of the silent computer. No matter. For better or worse, baseball is us.

Without question, the good old days are gone. There is no bubble gum in baseball trading cards any more, just for openers. Why? Kibbles profit into Kibbles absolutely monopolized by baseball at the moment, which is another problem. Baseball is not on a barbed wire fence, but, yes, all these useless bodies doing better jobs. If you're 14 years old, this is a great stuff. Football, too. People are crazy for high-risk entertainment. Watching men collide in thought in storm reaction has become grand therapy for millions. Baseball is crippled by comparison.

In the front office and in the locker room, greed is king. Steinbrenner's voracious is legendary though he's hardly the only moment potential trying to separate the spurs for every last live spot. Owners look at baseball with about as much sentimentality as a trucker eyeing a shipment of cattle feed. Dollars and cents fill their subliminal better than a check list or well-worn double play. The players? Forget about it. Sure, they are created in three millions, but how many more flabby, disinterested, vulgar performers are we expected to tolerate? Why must we endure with heroes like New York Mets outfielder or Vince Colaninno, who chucked a firecracker at fans after a game in Los Angeles and then drove away, laughing? Enough with these guys who have so much trouble doing right by the game that make them rich. Enough.

There's plenty more. Transa change personal so often less can't remember who is on the home team and who is on the hated opposition. Owners find a decent man as coin manager. Play Vincent and forget to replace him. No commissioner at baseball? Unbelievable. Ticket prices are ridiculous, and too often, fans are treated like the respected customers but uninvited guests.

Now, management, leaders of the Boss George persuasion are desperate to get themselves new stadiums like the catenary Camden Yards in Baltimore or that grandiose space struts known reverentially as Toronto's new SkyDome. They have committed themselves the only thing wrong with baseball is its marketing approach. They want to "package" their "product" as deeply as the National Basketball Association and offer this up, apologetic, wallet-busting, Disney World experience. Only a game as grand as baseball could sustain that of Paris, not like Disney.

Fred Brunning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

ANGRY FISHERMEN BLOCK A RUSSIAN TRAWLER TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE PLIGHT OF THEIR INDUSTRY

The confrontation seemed quintessentially Canadian. A month of civility prevailed last week in the picturesque fishing village of Shelburne, N.S., even as a flotilla of more than 100 Nova Scotia fishing boats held a 400-ton Russian trawler hostage to protest foreign fishing in Canadian waters. "We are welcome outsiders," said a 22-year-old Russian seaman from the *Plawer Marianne*, which found itself under siege as it attempted to unload 11,000 tons of cod at a local fish plant. He said the other 90 Russian crew members strolled casually through the crowd of Canadian fisherfolk, families and supporters who swarmed the wharf where the freighter had docked. "We're got nothing against any of them," insisted James Elliott, 28, a fisherman who sold potatoes supporting the Canadian cause. "This is politics. At night's end, the protest will end their six-day blockade after Ottawa agreed to order all foreign fishing boats to leave Canadian waters off southeastern Nova Scotia by Aug. 20. Declared Gary Dedrick, a spokesman for the Shelburne protesters: "The bottom line is that the Canadians will be first and the police concern is our coastal communities."

The standoff in Shelburne, 200 km. southwest of Halifax, was one of several potentially explosive conflicts that last week bedeviled federal Fisheries Minister Ron Brien, who took over the troubled department from fellow Newfoundland fisher, Crosbie on June 25. In Lunenburg, 90 km. southwest of Halifax, fishermen blocked another Russian ship from unloading fish at a giant National Sea Products Ltd. plant to protest that site's refusal to accept the RCMP's waterfront fishery. In Newfoundland, police arrested militant environmentalist Paul Watson after his protest ship intercepted a Cuban trawler

catch enough fish to make a living. Explained Constable Chase, 39, a father of four from Shelburne who operates a 30-foot longshore with his brother David, "Once you pay your crew more and experience their eating, let's see."

But the siege is also directed at foreign fishing fleets, which have become a constant scapegoat as Canadian fish quotas steadily dwindled. In truth, domestic fishermen bear some of the blame for ravaging the Atlantic fishing grounds—even though it was

it was also that confused situation that the *Plawer Marianne* said. The blockade began when word spread by radio about the rusty hull's impending arrival in Shelburne with a load of frozen cod. The local fishermen suspected the boat had been taken from Canadian waters—claim disputed by both the Russians and federal fisheries officials, who said that the cod came from the Barents Sea off the coast of Russia. At first, Brien vowed that he would not talk to the protesters until they ended the blockade. He also threatened to call in the RCMP to break up the protest. Declared Brien, "I can't respond with a gun to my head."

But Brien softened his stance after a number of provincial politicians expressed his tactics. Nova Scotia Premier John Savage, for one, said that, in legal terms, Brien's approach was probably correct. But, Savage added, "I cannot tell whether he is morally right under these special circumstances."

Brien sent his acting deputy minister, Margaret MacPherson, and other Fisheries and Oceans officials to Nova Scotia to meet the Shelburne protesters. After two days of almost closed-door meetings, they struck a deal. In addition to ordering the removal of foreign vessels off Nova Scotia by Aug. 20, Ottawa agreed to accept negotiations on increased quotas for trawler fishermen to help them get through the year. Despite the fishermen's claims of victory, however, federal spokesmen insisted that they had made only modest concessions. For one thing, they said, the Aug. 20 deadline means very little since most foreign vessels were expected to leave by that time anyway. What the fishermen did achieve, said Lieutenant Forand, a senior Ottawa-based Fisheries official, was to seize the public agenda. Still Forand, "They're in a stronger position when it comes to negotiating for and years."

While public attention focused on the events in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, Canada's diplomatic efforts

could, in the long run, have even proven costly to the Atlantic fishery's cause. Canada has tabled a deal concerning both the United Nations in a set of regulations governing the fishing of stocks that straddle different regulatory zones, as well as highly migratory species such as northern cod. A.E.C. continues as also considering a Canadian-backed convention that would make the seizure of fishing vessels flying flags of convenience. But to the fisheries at Shelburne all of that activity seems extremely remote. Said William Bingham, 28, who has been working on boats since he was 14 "Sometimes it seems like the people who make their living off the water are in the background." Last week, he said, that changed.

JOHN BEMENT in Shelburne



The *Plawer Marianne* under siege: a quintessentially Canadian confrontation

as part of an independent campaign to force foreign fishing boats off the Grand Banks. Provincial politicians in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia joined the battle, firing verbal shots at their federal counterparts as the air became a test of Kim Campbell's new government.

The cause of the conflicts was the severe depletion of cod and other species of fish, which has devastated local fishermen and plant workers by a many cases eliminating their only independent source of income. In July, 1992, Ottawa banned 25,000 Newfoundland fishery workers off the job when it announced a two-year closure of the northern cod fishery. The moratorium is intended to

save from extinction the famed Grand Banks fishery—a rich source of northern cod that has lured fishermen to the waters off New Brunswick for more than 500 years. Federal fisheries experts are confident that it will take until the turn of the century, if not longer, before the moratorium can be lifted.

Last December, the misery among fishery workers spread to thousands of ashore fishermen on southeastern Nova Scotia. In that month, Ottawa, fearing the depletion of groundfish stocks, set a halibut quota for that year of about 3,000 tons—half the quota for 1992. In Shelburne County, the cuts have been extremely painful. The fishermen complain that at the levels set by Ottawa, they cannot

do so with the content of the federal permit, which said expressly refused to cut costs despite evidence that stocks had fallen to alarmingly low levels. Moreover, foreign ships operating within Canada's 200-mile limit actually take few fish from Canadian waters. Last week, 25 of the 28 foreign trawlers operating off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were fishing the silver hake and Greenland halibut. That—some species that hold little appeal for Canadian consumers.

Still, last week's outbreak of civil disobedience indicated the depth of frustration among Nova Scotia fishermen. Despite assurances from Ottawa to the contrary, the protesters maintained that foreign vessels are taking large amounts of young cod along with their halibut and halibut.

Canada Notes

WORKING FOR NO PAY

As part of its drive to reduce Alberta's \$2-billion operating deficit, the province's Conservative government announced that it will eliminate the \$10-a-day paid to reformatory prisoners for such tasks as cleaning toilets and washing dishes. The government claims that the move—which affects about 2,500 prisoners who are serving sentences of two years or less—will save the province \$1.5 million annually.

COURTING THE FARM VOTE

During a three-day pre-election tour of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, Prime Minister Kim Campbell reassured leaders of western farm groups that the federal Tories plan to maintain current levels of federal support for farmers. The only change, she added, is that aid may be targeted to the most needy producers.

RIGHTING WRONGS

Quebec Cree Chief Ted Moses told a United Nations hearing in Geneva that, in the event of Quebec secession, the Cree could decide to renege part of Quebec's 1991 treaty of Canada. The Cree are now suing the federal government for \$1 billion. Quebec's Premier Jacques Parizeau dismissed Moses' comments, saying that the idea that a native group and the territory they claim could opt out of an independent Quebec is "by all legal means, lunacy."

TRUCK BANS

Winnipeg Mayor Susan Thompson asked the Manitoba government to declare her city a disaster area after northern Manitoba endured the worst flooding in two decades. The flood cut off the city from a 14-year-old Winnipegger, Shalek Rukon, who had been working in a rim-roller creek; he was still missing at week's end.

NO PROBE FOR CRIMINALS

Three weeks after Karl Hensel was convicted of manslaughter in the killing of two Ontario teenagers, Ontario Conservative M.P. Cameron Jackson introduced a private member's bill that would limit any money paid to a criminal on the account of his or her awards to a victim's compensation. Gov. John Ontario Attorney General Martin Dwyer expressed interest in the bill but said that he will ask lawyers in his ministry to study its implications. Karl Hensel's estranged husband, Paul Trude, also faces first-degree murder charges in connection with the teenagers' deaths.

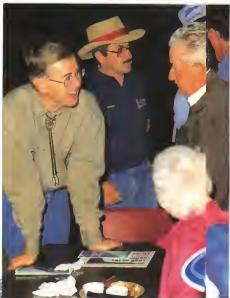
Reformers on the ropes

Preston Manning seeks to reverse his party's fortunes

Reform Party Leader Preston Manning went up his basic political strategy in two words—*“backing waves”*. By that, he means that his party depends for its momentum on ground needs of public interest in areas near and dear to Reform's right-to-life, populist philosophy. One such thrust in support came during last fall's controversial referendum campaign, in which Manning emerged as a leading light on the successful side. “The next wave,” says Manning hopefully, “is the federal election.” But with an election call only weeks away, some Reformers conclude that the party seems incapable of steering even a ripple. “We have fallen off the stage,” laments University of Calgary policy scientist Thomas Flanagan, who stepped down last fall as the party's director of policy and communications, but who continues to be a Reform supporter. “A new party must not ride, be provocative, it must be attached and sustained.” Stephen Harper, a key Reform policy expert who is running for the party in Calgary West, agrees that the party badly needs to rediscover a sense of purpose. “There is a lack of energy and conviction coming out of the party these days.”

For Reformers, that loss of energy is most evident in two disturbing trends. In the past year, the party's paid-up national membership has slipped from a peak of 123,000 in about 1990-91. On top of that, Reform has seen its standing as a source of national and regional public opinion polls erode steadily over the past 18 months. A poll conducted by the Angus Reid Group last month gave Reform the support of eight per cent of decided voters across the country, down from 13 per cent in January, 1992, when the party made its strongest showing ever. Even more ominously, only 10 per cent of decided voters in the party's home province of Alberta supported Reform compared with 44 per cent who said that they were prepared to vote for the party in June, 1992. At its current level of support, pollster Reid says, “Reform would have difficulty electing more than 10 MPs. Given all the buzz about Reform a couple of years ago that would not be a good victory.”

Of course, Reform's prospects could improve considerably in the course of an election campaign—particularly one in which voters' preferences seem likely to be extremely volatile. And that is exactly what Reform strategists are counting on. “If you look back at the 1986 election, the polls shifted dramatically back and forth,” says



Manning at a barbecue in Stouffville, Alberta, on a campaign stop in the polls

Hewart MacKinnon, a Reform candidate in the New Scotia riding of Central Nova and formerly the party's regional co-ordinator for Atlantic Canada. “When voters see what Reform is all about, we're going to get a positive response and these polls are going to turn around.”

Still, most Reformers acknowledge that the party faces some daunting challenges. Even outside Quebec, where the party still won federal candidates, Reform remains a largely unknown commodity in many parts of the country. MacKinnon, for one, frankly acknowledges that it would take a major

upset for Reform to win even a single seat in Atlantic Canada. That fact leaves him hoping for “the kind of utter shock to the established political order that occurred when a majority of New Scots voted No in last fall's referendum.” A similar problem exists in Ontario, where the party expects to field candidates in 95 of the province's 98 federal ridings. Reg Gosse, one of the Reform Party's key organizers in Ontario, says that internal party polls and his own experience going door-to-door indicate that “about 50 per cent of Ontarians still don't know what the Reform party is all about.” As a result, adds Gosse, a Kitchener-based publisher, “I don't think we'll take a lot of seats in Ontario.”

Like many loyal Reformers across the country, Gosse blames the party's recognition problems as partly coverage over the past 18 months in the national media. The party was the focus of extensive coverage during its initial rapid growth in Western Canada between 1988 and 1991, and as the sides of the decision in April, 1991, to field candidates in Ontario and Atlantic Canada. But after that, says Gosse, “it was like the tap was turned off.”

Manning himself managed to regain the spotlight by appearing as a television commentator during the mid-June Conservative leadership convention in Ottawa. On June 26 a day after Bill Campbell was sworn in as Prime Minister, he was back in the nation's capital, along with 135 Reform election candidates. At a rally at the Ottawa Convention Centre, the Reform leader provided his candidates before about 1,000 party faithful. To the consternation of party officials, says Gosse, the event went unreported in Canada's major daily newspapers or on television newscasts.

But the problems facing the Reform party clearly run deeper than that. Campbell's swelling on June 25 of a new cabinet roster to 34 from 23 members was just the latest example of the Conservatives copying a long-standing Reform policy. Over the past two years, the Tories have adopted the Reform, if not the substance, of several Reform initiatives, including tightening migration procedures, putting tougher on criminals and setting a schedule for claiming the annual federal budget deficit, which is running at more than \$30 billion a year. Campbell has said that she will balance the budget in five years, while Brian Mulroney claims it can be done in three.

Under Campbell's leadership, the Tories are stepping up efforts to court would-be Reform supporters. Indeed, some Reform voters believe they're called “Proton's”

first cabinet appointment” when Campbell chose backbench MP Barbara (Bobbie) Spence—who Manning will run against in Calgary Stouffville—as her new natural resources minister. According to Reformers, Spence put the job primarily to boost her chances for reelection. Once the election is called, the Tories are expected to direct money and high-profile campaign cars, including Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, into Spence's riding in an attempt to lure Manning to spend as much time as possible fighting for her own seat.

Some political observers theorize that the Tories' efforts to co-opt Reform policies, combined with the resignation of far more prime minister Brian Mulroney, have accounted for Reform's poor standing in recent polls. Reid, for one, notes that the majority of Reformers, especially in Western Canada, are disillusioned Tories who embraced the agent party out of a sense of frustration over the treatment of senior officers by the Mulroney government. “People were pushed into Reform more than pulled in,” says Reid. “That being the case, they can just as easily be pushed back out.”

Reform has also been plagued by enlightening Manning's selection of Ottawa-based political lobbyist Rick Anderson as a campaign director angered some longtime party members. They see the Quebec-born, 39-year-old Anderson, who was a longtime agent for the federal Liberals before joining Reform two years ago, as an Ottawa insider, incapable of faithfully representing the party's interests. For his part, Anderson told MacKinnon last week that the complaints about his role are a sign that the six-year

Anderson is the sign of political enlightening

voice through stakeholder days and MPs make freedom from party discipline in parliamentary votes. “The people have to wrest control from the politicians and the special interest groups,” MacKinnon says. “There are the kinds of changes that the other parties simply will not endorse because they would destroy their own power base.”

Even Reformers who are openly critical of the party's recent performance hold out hope for a reversal of fortunes. Political scientist Flanagan had urged Manning to take an even tougher line on bringing the deficit and to return to the days when his party criticized what Flanagan sees as Quebec's privileged status. “Manning must find specific areas to focus on so that other parties just won't talk about,” he says. It is a risky strategy, Flanagan cautions, that at night per cent on the polls. Reform can probably afford to run some risks

old party is suffering growing pains. “Of course,” he said, “we're doing this in an atmosphere where people love to hurl some pretty nasty things at all of us.”

Manning has responded to the various challenges facing Reform by doing what the 50-year-old leader has done many times before: leaning back, setting out a painstaking detail his party's principles and policies. In a series of dispassionate speeches over the past few months, Manning laid out the main ingredients of his plan to eliminate the deficit in three years. They include cutting welfare and unemployment benefits and other social assistance to high-income earners, eliminating about \$4 billion in annual federal subsidies to business and special interest groups, and reducing pensions and perks for elected officials. Aware that many Canadians are now more concerned with unemployment than the deficit, Manning is careful to link proposed cuts to the need to create jobs. “There is an agency connection between the deficit and job creation,” Manning told MacKinnon. “People in the private sector aren't creating jobs because of the high debt levels and the necessity of taxes.”

Reform's economic agenda, dubbed the “zero-to-three” plan, is summarized in a four-page pamphlet published by party headquarters in Calgary. Having organized his plan already under the nation's eyes, the blueprint, which will be distributed to voters throughout English Canada over the next six weeks. As well, Manning and his candidates plan to explore proposals for wide-ranging political change. Those include giving constitutional the right to recall MPs, voters a greater voice through stakeholder days and MPs make freedom from party discipline in parliamentary votes. “The people have to wrest control from the politicians and the special interest groups,” MacKinnon says. “There are the kinds of changes that the other parties simply will not endorse because they would destroy their own power base.”

Even Reformers who are openly critical of the party's recent performance hold out hope for a reversal of fortunes. Political scientist Flanagan had urged Manning to take an even tougher line on bringing the deficit and to return to the days when his party criticized what Flanagan sees as Quebec's privileged status. “Manning must find specific areas to focus on so that other parties just won't talk about,” he says. It is a risky strategy, Flanagan cautions, that at night per cent on the polls. Reform can probably afford to run some risks

DAVID BRIDGMAN and
JOHN MCNEIL in Calgary

The Celebration has begun!

With a symphonic splash in Victoria's Inner Harbour and a soul-soothing belabourment from *Waka*, a year-long celebration has begun in Victoria, British Columbia, so lead up to Canada's largest sport and cultural event of the decade — the XV Commonwealth Games.

More than 3,200 athletes from 66 Commonwealth nations will compete at the Games in 10 sports and one demostrative sport in the garden city by the August 18-28 next year.

The Games' Art and Cultural Festival, which started on August 1, will showcase the tremendous variety of talent from around the Commonwealth and multinational Canada. There will be a mosaic of activities — everything from fitness sports and everything, to sculpture, drama, musical arts, literary arts, and international film and comedy festivals.

There will be the swirling rhythms of world-beat music, song and dance from Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Europe and the Caribbean to see the international race for the Games' technicians and to enhance cross-cultural understanding.

British Columbia's aboriginal peoples will

celebrate their rich traditions and are, in present, combining their creative talents to give the world's oldest team sport to celebrate the Games.

Canada will be the focus at the Opening Ceremony, which will be watched by 300 million television viewers worldwide. The Opening Ceremony will be an unforgettable affair in the Commonwealth, featuring performers and actors from six continents. There will be cultural snippets from Bangladesh, Cyprus, Guyana, Kenya, Mauritius, The Seychelles, and Western Samoa.

During the Games, a Harbour Festival will celebrate Victoria's magnificent Inner Harbour and a long story filled with the sights and sounds of Canada and the Commonwealth. The exciting diversity of culture will be celebrated nightly in art, song, stories, traditions, and dance alongside with the crowd to the rhythms of a world beat.

Victoria, the host city, is inviting



Canadian from all walks of life to attend the Games — an international athletic competition that promotes opportunities for human development and celebrates cross-cultural understanding, the traditions of good sportsmanship, and the triumph of personal achievement.

Call or write for information:
Victoria Commonwealth Games Society
PO Box 1994
Victoria B.C.
Canada V8W 2W8

For information and accommodation reservations: 1-800-667-3803

Maclean's, the national magazine of the XV Commonwealth Games, is proud to salute the official sponsors of the Games

- BC Hydro
- BC TEL
- British Columbia Lottery Corporation
- Canada Post Corporation
- Canon Canada Inc.
- Coca-Cola (Canada)

- General Motors of Canada Limited
- IBM Canada Ltd.
- Kodak Canada Inc.
- Labovit Systems of Canada
- Seiko Canada Inc.



Victoria 94
XV Commonwealth Games
August 18-28, 1994

British Columbia

Canada

Maclean's
CANADA'S LITERARY AND MEDIA MAGAZINE

A trail of horror

A report on violence against women draws fire

Even the most experienced members of the federal panel studying violence against women listened in shock as the woman told her story. She was asking when her husband tried to murder her by shooting her in the head. She suggested diversions for help. He came back to finish her off. He stabbed her with such vicious intensity that the tip of the knife broke off and remained embedded in her stomach. As a hearing in another town, the encourage witnesses to come forward, the panel agreed not to publish their names or places of residence, a rare move requested terrifying incidents from her childhood. On her way to school in the morning, she would sometimes see splashes of her mother's blood and clumps of her hair lying on the snow outside their home — memories of drunken arguments between husband and wife-only hours earlier.

Last week, after collecting such testimony in 120 communities across Canada, it was no surprise that the 12 members of the panel — feminists, community health workers, psychologists and law enforcement representatives — concluded that violence against women had reached crisis proportions. Said one of the panel's co-chairs, Patricia Marshall, executive director of Toronto's Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children: "Working in the decades of anti-violence work that we have completed as panel members could have prepared us for the harrowing account of violence that is part of our country."

The panel's final report, based on work that cost \$20 million and took two years to produce, reflects that harsh reality. It is also as controversial as the panel itself. Established in 1991, a 1992 accusations last July by some women's groups that as 30-page preliminary report was a waste of money, it adequately reflected the concerns of disabled and immigrant women and contained few concrete recommendations for change. The final report is dramatically different. At 400 pages, it contains recommendations — 9% in all — that range from the specific to the general. Examples:

- Adding more to give our need for power and control and to pledge not to be violent.
- Intensifying the Court Challenges Program, a federal project to finance challenges under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was cancelled in 1992 as part of a budget-cutting exercise.
- Making gender and race sensitivity training mandatory for law students, lawyers and judges.
- Asking women and men not to laugh at sexist jokes.



Marshall, shocked by the testimony

• Implementing a national child care plan as soon as proposed by the Conservatives in 1993, but finally implemented in 1993 because of the estimated \$4-billion start-up cost.

• Reversing stereotypes and women of new immigrant communities to police forces and courts.

The panel seemed underwhelmed by the fact that the government to which it was addressing its demands had earlier cancelled the Court Challenges Program and decided not to implement a national child care program. Said Marshall: "I don't believe that there is one recommendation there that is naive or unrealistic."

But some women's groups said that the report's sweeping proposals would likely have little impact. As the panel's news conference wound its close, Lee Lakeman, a British Columbia representative of the Canadian Association of Second-Asian Century stood up to confront Marshall and her colleagues. Her voice trembled with rage. Lakeman said that many of the recommendations had been made before and had been ignored. "I think this kind of cynical politics has to be pointed out immediately," Lakeman said, "or we have no hope of implementing anything that is progressive here." Her words were a painful reminder that Canadian women have grown accustomed not only to harassment and abuse, but also to broken promises.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

who wears khakis?

CHEATERS

TAX EVASION COSTS \$30 BILLION—ENOUGH TO COVER THE DEFICIT

The hand-painted signs in Chinese characters on the wall of a Chinese grocery store in downtown Toronto announced boldly—and illegally—"We have liquor for sale." On July 14, Toronto police raided that store and 14 others nearby, seizing 4,500 bottles of Chinese cooking wine for sale, tumblers for as little as \$3.00 a bottle. The only wine had been available to shoppers for years but only recently as rebates increased dramatically. And prosecutors for the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) latch on to the fact that many of the customers were buying it to drink, not for cooking. The wine, which has an alcohol content as high as 40 per cent, well over Ontario's legal maximum of 40 per cent, was being imported illegally from China through the port of Vancouver. LCBO chief man Andrew Braith says that the raid was the latest step in a year-old crackdown on tax evasion in the liquor industry. "The whole underground economy is expanding very rapidly," Braith explains. "And we've decided to do something about it."

Selling cheap Chinese wine may seem like a relatively insignificant tax offense, but it is one example of a rapidly spreading practice that now costs governments as much as \$30 billion a year—almost enough to eliminate the annual federal budget deficit. Those who evade taxes often claim that they are protesting against rising tax levels and what they perceive as wasteful government spending. But far from being a righteous cause, tax evasion clearly hurts all those who benefit from publicly funded programs and, indirectly, all honest taxpayers, whose rising tax rates reflect attempts to cover the shortfall in revenue (page 38). Whether it involves smuggling smuggled cigarettes, failing to report income, illegal cross-border shopping or insurance cash deals to avoid the widely despised Goods and Services tax (GST), the growth in tax evasion is turning Canada—despite the cheatered self-image of Canadians as fundamentally honest and law-abiding—into a nation of cheaters.

The evidence is widespread and varied. In some parts of the country, such as Montreal, Canadian

new smoke almost as many smuggled cigarettes as they do legal ones (page 24). An estimated one-third of all the jewelry Canadians buy is unreported and untaxed. And in the service sector, countless hairdressers, house cleaners, house painters and others are either evading taxes or losing business to those who are. "When people get away with it once, they are more likely to try again," said Braith. "It's a slippery slope that may well cause a decay in the ethical behavior of some people."

Glenk Turner, the 46-year-old Ontario Conservative MP who took over on June 25 as Canada's new revenue minister, agrees that the problem is getting out of hand. "It's one thing when you occasionally run into somebody who's smoking smuggled cigarettes," Turner said in a *Maclean's* interview last week (page 22). "But now it's like every Tom, Dick and Harry who tells you your driveway is just a new bathroom is giving you two prices." Turner said he is determined to crack down on tax evaders. "Over the next few weeks I'm going to offer people a rare opportunity to come forward and comply. After that, look out. The point is that when people cheat, those pressures that end up causing further losses—and that's the last thing that we need."

The current wave of tax evasion appears to owe much to the introduction of the GST in 1991 and the prolonged economic slump. By levying a tax on services, the government in effect created a financial incentive for customers to pay cash under the table for such things as car repairs and home improvements. And when that happens, the government naturally loses twice—because much of the income tax on that money, as well as the GST, goes unpaid.

One clue to the extent of the problem is a recent increase in the use of cash. After declining steadily for a decade, the amount of cash in circulation increased to 62 per cent of total consumer spending by the start of 1992, up from 57 per cent a year earlier.

Drawing on that data, economist Pierre Sapiro published a study in June by



The amount of cash in use has increased in a thriving economy and ground

postulating that the GST had provoked a shift to underground economic activity that cost all levels of government a total of \$2.3 billion in 1992. Again, the minister of macroeconomic affairs and policy for Ontario's Treasury ministry argues that new taxes must be perceived to be fair or they will not be accepted. "Clearly the GST was perceived in advance as being unfair," he adds.

Most cheating on the GST occurs in labor-intensive businesses. Because they have few expenses in which they have to pay GST and, as a result, less chance to collect government refunds, they have less incentive to report the work they perform. Lawrence Brubaker, a home renovator in the southwestern Ontario town of St. Jacobs, says that each week several potential customers ask him to do jobs tax-free. "It's a form of tax revolt," said Brubaker.

Naturally, those who do cheat tend to show publicly. A 47-year-old Vancouver contractor, spending on condition of anonymity, said that he is often offered, and occasionally accepts, cash from customers who wish to avoid paying the GST. He described himself as fundamentally honest, but added, "If I didn't do it that way, I wouldn't be working." He said that not all such customers are motivated solely by a desire to save money. "I did a cash job for a well-off older couple in Richmond. They had the money, but they were really angry about the GST." But he added that the degree of cheating by individuals is less than that by business. A dentist, he said, hired him to do \$20,000 worth of work on her home and \$30,000 on her office—and billed the entire amount as an office expense.

Garth Kinkorster, a home renovator in St. John's Nfld.,

says that his business is suffering because of the number of unemployed immigrants and laid-off construction workers who are looking for work. "It's one of the worst problems I've ever seen," he laments. "I would really like to see the government do something to help the unemployed workers. It's pretty discouraging for the rest of us. Maybe we'll all be better off in the underground." In fact, a survey by the Canadian Home Builders' Association estimated that 35 per cent of all renovations in Canada in 1992 were done on the black market—compared with an estimated 30 per cent pre-1987. "Even companies that charge the 13% often do not tell the customer that the price includes it," says the association's report notes. "This is in order to offset customer reluctance to reveal the GST."

in Capilano, B.C., businessmen John Mahood has also detected an increase in tax evasion. In 1980, Mahood founded Barter Card, the first of Canada's few major barter networks. To comply with Revenue Canada's rules, the organization declared that members who received goods or services for performing work that was their normal profession had to declare the value of those transactions on their tax returns. That shortly after the introduction of the GST, the number of audits struck through the Barter Card net work began to decline. According to Mahood, accounting firm PricewaterhouseCoopers, in a study of 1,000 in 1982, "Some of our former members are continuing to barter in Canada but are receiving payment through the illegal barter networks in order to avoid the GST. And, of course, if you don't pay GST, you'd have to be determined to include the value of the transactions on your income-tax returns." A confirmed accountant, Mahood asserts that the barter industry is a form of life for Canadians.

Byrond owning the GST, consumers are increasingly finding ways to evade taxes on such heavily taxed goods as cigarettes, liquor and jewelry. Tax levels in excess of 60 per cent on cigarettes have convinced many smokers that they are justified in breaking the law. Andrew Townsend, an account-

[illegible]

tion to federal and provincial sales taxes, reported sales of \$1.8 billion in 1990. But according to a study for the federal finance department, underground jewelry sales total an additional \$445 million in \$1.4 billion. Otherwise range from travelers who fail to declare purchases outside the country to so-called bargain hunters who smuggle diamonds and other precious stones in to Canada for sale to black market manufacturers. Says Sotny-Podlask, the tax consultant who prepared the report, "This is the kind of thing that is totally impossible to prevent. It's the price we pay for having high taxes. People do not set a price on honesty."

Roger Smith, an economist at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, has tried for more than a decade to measure the size of Canada's underground economy. Relying on a variety of indicators, he estimates that it is counted for 15 to 20 per cent of economic activity at 1980, up from about 10 per cent a decade earlier. It has almost certainly grown even larger since then, he adds in addition to the GST and the recession. Smith says, but embezzles have become more popular because of the growth of the number of self-employed people and because of the increase in immigration from countries where tax evasion is even more widespread.

Still, Smith points out that the underground economy is far less of a problem in Canada than in several other industrialized countries. In 1986, Italy officially recognized underground activity by declaring that its economy was 16 per cent larger than records; others put the figure closer to 30 per cent. And Belgians, some experts say, live in an underground economy that is about 20 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP). At the other end of the scale are Japan and Switzerland, each of which is estimated to have an underground economy equal to less than four per cent of GDP.

Dr. Sato insists that Canadians are at least as biased in their judgement as the Swiss contemporaries. By using a system that requires three different measures of the economy, Statistics Canada estimates that underemployed workers amount to a mere 2.5 per cent of GDP. But Sato feels the agency's definition of unpaid economic "if the underemployed economy amounted to 10 per cent of GDP, or about \$70 billion, it would imply that on an average a family of four spends about \$18,000 a year under the table. Maybe I'm not as much of a nut as you think I am, but I think that just doesn't match with any everyday experience."

But others see it as such assessments. "They're trying to look at the elephant behind a shower curtain," a *Revenue Canada* official said as a condition of anonymity. In fact, the government has good reasons to play down the extent of its tax cheating. Says economist David Brown, "The government is not going to want to make a case for more tax from governments all over the world. They want to intimidate it because it means that there is something wrong with their tax policies." Government officials also worry that acknowledging the degree of tax evasion will add to the problem. Says Ontario's Spence, "I believe that if you tell the public that 10 per cent of the population is not paying income taxes, that other people cheat, the more they will cheat."

Still, governments are struggling to respond to Canada's growing problem. Revenue Minister Turner blames the increase in the tax gap on economy on the complexity of the tax system and a perception that the system is unfair. Still, Turner "500 million, 1 billion, 2 billion dollars a year" in tax evasion, he says. "It's not a small problem. It's a very serious problem," he says. Privately, in his 30-year career as a senior

NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND

One out of nine cigarettes
puffed by Canadians
is illegal.

More than one-third of all jewelry purchased by Canadians escapes taxation

Three out of every four house-cleaners are paid under the table.

About 55 per cent of home renovations are paid for on a cash-only basis.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.



paper columnist. Turn it if there's a provided sign-by-sign instruction on

Although Turner declined to discuss the details of his department's plan, Revenue Canada officials say privately that current changes will include a streamlining of the tax registration and audit systems as well as an advertising campaign to inform Canadians about the consequences of tax evasion for the country. In addition, Revenue Canada plans to step up enforcement and introduce tougher penalties for those who are caught. "It's a fairness issue," Turner said. "Most people are paying their taxes but a small proportion are slipping off the system. You had better be very careful if you are part of the underground economy."

Tarner is not alone in wanting tougher enforcement. Said Neil Brooks, a tax law professor at York University's Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto: "Tax evasion is an offence that we don't send many people to jail for in Canada. At most we lock up one or two

opportunity almost anyone will cheat," Brooks says. "Because most Canadians do not consider tax evasion a serious crime. Asked whether it is wise to collect \$1,000 in unemployment insurance benefits while working part time or to evade paying \$1,000 in income tax, the times more respondents considered the unemployment insurance theft their more serious. Says Brooks: "The lesson is that the government ought to reduce the opportunities as much as possible, and then punish the offenders more."

the taste of the century. "we what we pay for a civilized society." That may be true, but in Mulroney's day the tax burden was far less than it is now. Perhaps, for many Canadians, the price of civilization has simply become too steep.

BRENDA DALGLISH and PATRICK CARMOLIN in Toronto
LUCY FISHER in Chicago and ADRIENNE WEISS in Vancouver

The art of 'avoision'

In his 1989 annual report, then-Deputy Auditor General Kenneth Whyte went out of his way to publicize and condemn a loophole in the law that enabled some Canadian corporations to avoid paying millions of dollars in corporate income tax. The technique, known as the double dip, allowed domestic companies to finance their U.S. operations through shell companies in the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles, where the corporate tax laws exist, and they deducted the interest costs twice. "The loophole remains open, however, because federal officials have not found a way to close it without creating more problems in the tax laws. Double dipping isn't technically illegal and therefore considered tax avoidance, rather than evasion. But it clearly goes against the spirit of our tax laws," he said.

"I am convinced," said David Perry, senior research associate at the Centre for Tax Fairness in Toronto, "it falls in the grey area between technical legality and ethical propriety."

The existence of corporate tax loopholes—as well as such tax havens as the Cayman Islands and Switzerland, whose bank secrecy laws allow the wealthy to shelter their money from taxes—helps to explain why so many Canadians feel justified in cheating on their taxes. In fact, the only Canadians who are as freely caught in the tax collector's net as they have relatively low unemployment rates

based on their actual hours are those who are employed by others—and, consequently, have their hours deducted at source. That, of course, includes the majority of Canadians, which may account for the fact that many people experience little sense of guilt about smoking snuggled cigarettes or paying a roster in cash to avoid the GST. Deborah O'Connor, a director of the Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty Organization, says that 150,000 respondents across the country paid no income tax in 1987, even though they reported a total of \$25 billion in profits. With incomes like that, she says, she finds it hard to get angry at individuals who cheat on their taxes. "Unfortunately," she adds, "most of the tax evasion that goes on in this country is perfectly legal."

Unfortunately for most citizens, shutting down the opportunities for tax evasion by big corporations and the rich can be even more difficult than combating big government. If tax rates rise too much, or tax regulations become too onerous, big corporations and wealthy individuals will simply leave. "When capital and people become highly mobile," says Perry, "taxes become much harder to adjust." He adds that estate taxes would cause little revenue because the wealthy would scramble for other, or less, the country before they die. The real winners, Perry claims, would be the airlines.

REFINING DILIGENT

THE OUTSIDER

CANADA'S NEW CHIEF TAXMAN GETS A TASTE OF POWER

BY JIM HOGAN

If you could cross Howard Beale, the *New York* showman in the movie *Network* who was "mad as hell" and not going to take it anymore, with James Baker, the cabinet minister in the British comedy series *Yes, Minister* who developed a well-founded suspicion of the civil service, you would have some idea of what drives Canada's new chief taxman. Add a generous helping of Ross Perot, the eye-challenged American billionaire who launched a non-stop crusade on behalf of the American middle class and who would pretty well have laid down to a T.

In Canada's terms, however, Revenue Minister Garth Turner is probably unique. Until the recent Conservative leadership race, in which he finished fourth in a field of six, Turner was little more than an object of curiosity as the Tory backbencher, a 46-year-old maverick who quit of Ken Robt and blew all steam by playing rock & roll on his black Fender Stratocaster guitar. Even he shrugged off the possibility that he might one day be invited to join Ottawa's inner circle. "People spend half their more private life and position," the right-of-centre politician said in May, a few months before his long shot leadership bid was crushed by Mike Campbell's juggernaut. "I bring an MP level of good enough, where does that leave the voters?"

For a question, but since June 24 the former tabloid newspaper columnist has had far too much on his plate to give it much thought. That was the day Campbell left for Canada's parliament and told him to be at 24 Sussex Drive, the Prime Minister's official residence, at 11 a.m. "I knocked at the front door, went in and there was a white, surrounded by all that [senior furniture], mostly Turner, one of the very few Tory MPs who had the temerity to voice concerns about Mike Mulroney's proposed \$120,000 sale of furniture to the federal government. "Then I was shown upstairs to a room overlooking the Ottawa River to talk to the Prime Minister." By then, Turner was certain that he was destined for the cabinet, but he was expecting a "more portable"—meaning like computer and corporate affairs. "He was as tentative, he says, when Campbell gave him revenue, a department with 44,000 employees, 800 offices and a \$6.5 billion annual budget.

That night, Turner returned to his brick semi-detached house in New Richmond, an upscale Ottawa neighborhood only a stone's throw from the Prime Minister's residence, to break the news to his wife of 22 years, Dorothy. (They have six children.) "It took a while to sink in," he says. "It was very, very nice to know that I



Turner arriving for a cabinet reshuffle: "The taxpayers are running the agenda."

would finally be at the table—to make decisions that will actually affect people. That the other reason was 'Am I going to lose my freedom of speech?' It's like walking through a door into a world I've never experienced."

Now that he is there, Turner says that he wants to guard against becoming what he has always criticized—an Ottawa insider who thinks life revolves around Parliament Hill. "I spent two weeks with my nose in the briefing books and then got the hell out of Ottawa. I don't want to talk to the bureaucrats. I want to talk to the people on the ground—the border guards, the guy taking the phone calls from John D. Public, who must appear, really, taxpayers."

Turner's instinctive wisdomness of the man who would power behind the scenes in Ottawa was reinforced by an experience some other his secretary in. During his first week as minister, he learned that the department was considering replacing its 36-year-old regional headquarters in Toronto. Turner says that he gave specific instructions to be kept informed of site developments. That week, he was in reading through "about 1,000 pages of briefing material" when he came across a single page informing him that a new conference was scheduled for the following Monday to announce plans for a \$27-million office tower.

That week, he was in reading through "about 1,000 pages of briefing material" when he came across a single page informing him that a new conference was scheduled for the following Monday to announce plans for a \$27-million office tower. Turner immediately called his deputy minister and ordered him to cancel the announcement. "I don't know much about how the game is played, so maybe it's normal to try to get things past the new minister," he says.

Turner toured the building last week and told staff that if they want a new building, they will have to convince taxpayers that it is a worthwhile expense. "The taxpayers are running the agenda now," he says, approvingly. "Looked at what happened to the Senate's \$6,000 expense allowance and the [Ministry] form that said: 'People demanded action and the system worked.'"

Turner's blunt, no-nonsense style—crises say that a border on demography—guarantees that there will be many more battles ahead. Born in Woodstock, Ont., he went to high school in Toronto and was once misbehaved, he says, for leaving Beale books and a string of After a brief spell in the late 1960s as a *Rolling Stone* musician in Toronto, the creator of Toronto's hippie culture, he founded the first of six weekly newspapers across southern Ontario. He sold that busi-

ness in 1978 and spent the next decade as business editor of *The Toronto Star*, a job in which he railed about the need for lower public spending and organized protests against rising interest rates and taxes.

Although the high public profile he gained in those years helped to win him a seat in Parliament, the newcomer to politics has not been painless. As a columnist, Turner stood foremost against the Goods and Services Tax (GST), calling the idea "chaos" and "dangerous." He accused his stand after becoming an MP—a fact for which many of his constituents refuse to forgive him. At a recent appearance, in his riding with Campbell, a pair of hecklers shouted out: "Bey-Turner! Turney!" Turner later blamed the outburst on "a couple of yahoos," but disassociation with his stand is clearly widespread. "As far as I've concerned, the GST is a killer," the owner of a local news store told *Maclean's*. "You think I'd vote Tory again? Go to hell."

In most other respects, Turner's populist style appears in step with the times. He advocates a less complex parliamentary system, less without rules and usually drives instead of flying between Ottawa and his primary residence in Georgetown, Ont., just west of Toronto. He even has a personal 1,800-number so that Canadians can leave a message for him whenever they wish, the cost now about \$2.00 a month, which Turner says he pays himself. A government that is trying to project an image of frugality would be hard-pressed to do any better.

The next question is whether Turner can adapt to being a team player. Already, he is embroiled in a cabinet debate over a proposal to remove the GST from books and periodicals. Veterans ministers such as Deputy Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and External Affairs Minister Pavia Dosty are pushing the idea as a way of demonstrating support for Canadian culture, but Turner views it as a serious mistake. "Excepting magazines and books is going to cost \$120 million," he says. "If we're going to spend that kind of money, maybe we can do it a better way. Looked at what happened in new occupations are really only raising the complexity of the tax—which is the last thing business needs."

Will Turner, the outsider-turned-insider, win this fight, or will he be forced to compromise the integrity of elected administration? The minister himself declines to predict the outcome. "I believe that the government needs to be supported for its broad objectives," he says, "but things happen in a structure which are partly destined and hard to control. I just hope people will take responsibility as a government policy, or that it'll be in deep trouble very quickly." As Turner knows full well, that was at the cabinet table once as a peer.

ROSE LAYTON in Georgetown

The world according to Garth

Before he entered politics, Revenue Minister Garth Turner was a maverick columnist who complained about the tax system and frequently bailed abuse at politicians. Since his election in 1988, however, Turner has mellowed. Examples:

ON THE GST:

"I think it is a dangerous and hatched step. It hurts the risk-takers, kills incentive, makes taxes and destroys the economy."

—July, 1987

There's an inherent equity in the concept of a consumption tax.

—March, 1990

ON TAX AVOIDANCE:

No longer can any *Wall Street* Canadians do without an American bank account. Interest earned on deposits in American banks is not reported to Revenue Canada. Now, says the taxman can ask for, and receive, this information—but they first have to know that a Canadian taxpayer has a U.S. account, what bank it is with, what branch it is in, and in what form. The odds of this happening are ridiculously easy.

—October, 1989

It's not fair that there are people who think they can get away with not paying their taxes.

—July, 1990

ON THE ECONOMY:

The country is backsliding, our American border is in decline and decay despite desperate attempts to compete, the wealth loss of the globe is shifting daily to Japan. . . . It's not sure a question of whether the economy will unravel—it just sits.

—April, 1988

Some Canadians have a serious attitude problem. . . . If life in Canada is so awful, then why do we keep being ranked among the top three or four countries in most fields, by international groups?

—January, 1990

OF SMOKES AND SMUGGLERS

GUNS AND MONEY FUEL AN ILLICIT TRADE

When the 23-year-old Maiback left the U.S. academy in 1991, the new job held the irresistible appeal of easy money and excitement. But even \$300,000 a year had to be done his or in a shop of St. Lawrence. Here, in eastern Ontario, drug smugglers and police refer to it as the "war zone." There, across the river from Algonquin, a Mohawk reserve standing the U.S. border, smugglers would pack his

to sleep the side by changing in 18 export tax on each 200-cigarette carton. But six weeks later, the government refused under heavy lobbying from the tobacco industry and re-evaluated the tax.

Soon then, cigarette exports were surged, and contraband tobacco is now available in every major city in Canada. The Toronto-based investigative accounting firm of Lordguy, Avery, Macdonald & Buckerville Inc., which did a major report on the problem for the tobacco industry in 1992, estimated

Turner: "People will start believing that it is not to be off the government."

As profits increase, police and smugglers say that trafficking in illegal tobacco is becoming more dangerous—and organized crime is moving in. According to Philippe Blouin, a former deputy director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Chatter and Vitarone groups regularly make the last four drive from Toronto to Algonquin, where they buy thousands of cigarettes for distribution in the Ontario capital. Police set up roadblocks to trap the smugglers, but say that at best they catch only a small portion of the illegal trade. At night, they add, automatic weapons fire can be heard near Algonquin as rival smugglers exchange shots. The results of the conflict often wash ashore. Last October Provincial Police Staff Sgt. James McWade, of the nearby Lancaster detachment, "We have found large boats that had been stolen and painted black, some with guns in them."

Most cigarettes produced by Canadian manufacturers for export—each package carries a small label saying that it is not for sale in Canada—cross the border at Buffalo, N.Y., where they are sold to distributors. Many of the shipments are then driven east along the U.S. side of Lake Ontario to Algonquin, where they are warehoused before being smuggled by boats into Canada. While Algonquin is a major departure point, RCMP officials say that cigarettes are being smuggled across numerous border points right across the country. An informal distribution network involving contacts from

ed that more than one in nine cigarettes smuggled in Canada in 1995 was smuggled. Michel Desautels, director of public affairs for Montreal-based Imperial Tobacco Ltd., said that nearly 50 per cent of all cigarettes consumed in Montreal are smuggled. On June 16, the federal government announced the penalties for cigarette smuggling. Under the changes, smugglers can be fined two to three times the value of the cigarettes in their possession, and sentenced to a maximum of five years in jail. According to Revenue Minister Gerald Turner, cigarette smuggling has reached the point where it may undermine Canadian society. Said



Contraband cigarettes: 'a golden commodity'

the former soldier vows that he will continue to make the run. "What can they do?" he says. "Everybody's getting into it—even white people." Cigarette smuggling has been growing steadily since 1980, when Darren Dougan fled a life of crime and set up a business in Canada. As the price of cigarettes rose in Canada, so did the opportunity to earn money by bringing back into this country cigarettes that had been legally exported to the United States—where lower taxes prevail. In 1980, the price differential between a pack of Canadian cigarettes and a U.S. pack was about 20 cents; it is now about \$4. In February, 1995, the government attempted



RCMP officers searching smuggled cigarettes' organized crime is moving in

to allow the cigarettes to come to stores in major cities, in bars from duelling hotels or even in deliveries to suburban Canada. This practice is so widespread that it has now driven down the price of cigarettes in major chain stores that do not sell smuggled cigarettes.

But nowhere is the problem more acute than at Algonquin, home to some 10,000 Mohawks. Because it straddles the border and is situated a short distance from Highway 401 between Montreal and Toronto, it is an ideal haven for smuggling. The reserve is now dotted with cigarette warehouses, from which trucks arrive and cars come and go in a steady stream. Even so, the glare of the news and last week, dozens of arrests, paid high with boxes of contraband cigarettes, were chasing the

river. Darren Dougan, a spokesman for the Algonquin band government, said that the illegal cigarette industry has become so extensive that it is boosting the reserve's economy. "There are a lot of houses going up and cars being built," said Dougan. "Sometimes, it seems as if everybody is into cigarette smuggling."

The smugglers of Algonquin do not have to go far to unload their contraband cargo. The closest port of Algonquin lies just 1,200 feet from the Ontario mainland. According to police, most of the shipments are loaded to coincide with the arrivals of fishermen on the Ontario and Quebec coastline. These, trucks and cars are packed and driven to contact in Montreal and Toronto and other Indian reserves, primarily the Six Nations Reserve just west of Hamilton, Ont.

The financial rewards are clearly worth the risk. According to native smugglers, a carton of eight packs of 25 cigarettes can be brought into Canada for \$15. It is sold for \$20 or four dollars a pack on the street. By comparison, a local carton of Player's Lights sold for \$20 in stores last week in Toronto. In fact, the Lougheed group estimates that in 1991 the value of smuggled tobacco was more than \$1 billion, and that federal and provincial governments had lost the same amount in potential tax revenues.

But the actual money being generated by illegal cigarette sales may be much higher, because most estimates do not include U.S.-based cigarettes being smuggled into Canada. Nor do they take into account the fact that the Algonquin Mohawks have struck deals with U.S. manufacturers to produce their own brands of Canadian-style cigarettes, which are sold in smoke shops of Indian reserves. Sold under the brand names D&N and Pater's, the cigarettes are packaged to resemble Old Missouri and Player's brands. And Canadian cigarette manufacturers do not like the competition. "It affects brand loyalty," said Lougheed's Development. "Price is what drives the market."

At the Six Nations Reserve, the owners of several smoke shops that have been established because of the smuggling trade say that people regularly trade hundreds of kilograms to buy large amounts of cigarettes, including contraband brands. One of last week's customers was John Gray, a welder from nearby Paris, Ont., who bought three cartons for \$25 each. Said Gray: "We pay too much to buy."

In Winnipeg, Cal Trinchel, a regional intelligence officer with Canada Customs, contends that the Canadian problem does not take cigarette smuggling seriously enough. "Nobody wants to admit that it is a problem because people think it's a victimless crime," says Trinchel. "It's tough to get information from people." And smuggled cigarettes are not the only problem. The country says that they are too busy trying to catch major contraband suppliers to crack down on small operators, such as corner stores that resell the smuggled goods. "It is a big business," said one businessman in Calgary's Chinatown. "We have heard about where to get cigarettes."

Ultimately, as the level of smuggling continues to increase, the federal government and the tobacco industry are pursuing mutually difficult solutions. Others may force the industry to place much larger markings on packages so that smuggled cigarettes are easily recognizable. "We have heard about on-site a tobacco commodity," said Turner. "Smuggling is not a big priority." For now, smugglers and their clients, who are normally law-abiding citizens, will continue to do a booming trade.

TOM FENNEL with correspondents' reports

Israeli military
approaching civilians

expert. "The main danger was due to the use of Katyushas. Israel could not tolerate the transfer of the control on its own territory." The government of Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres stressed that it wanted to demonstrate to Hezbollah that it could not challenge Israel with weapons—and that it would not be permitted to export its guerrilla campaign, which ultimately seeks the destruction of the Jewish state, across the Lebanese border into northern Israel. "If there is no peace and quiet for us, there will be no peace and quiet for those who attack them."

The Lebanese, who threaten to use to demolish the already stalled Arab-Israeli peace talks, left a trail of human misery in northern Israel, where Katyushas killed two Israeli soldiers and wounded more than 30 others. Thousands of residents fled the attacks in bomb shelters or sent their children to the safety of summer camps out of rocket range. At one point last week in the Galilee, Hezbollah kidnapped a Kfarit, he called on the government of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to become an "active participant" in securing a ceasefire.

In Washington, President Bill Clinton, who announced Secretary of State Warren Christopher hours later in favor of Arafat to denounce the situation, called on both the Hezbollah guerrillas and the Israeli government to end the fighting. And while he praised Syria, which has 25,000 troops in Lebanon, for "showing restraint" in the crisis, he called on the government of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to become an "active participant" in securing a ceasefire. Clinton would try to persuade Israel to stop the attacks. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said he would continue. She caught Clinton's support for U.S. efforts to revive Middle East peace talks, and added, "There's an ongoing dynamic of violence there and unless we can get some permanent solution, we're going to continue to have these situations. Canada's position is that we want to see some talks resumption."

At week's end, Israeli and guerrilla gun fire killed after Israel ordered an army to halt its seven-day assault. The agreement, worked out with U.S. mediation, said that Hezbollah guerrillas would stop firing Katyushas rockets at Israel, but the guerrillas, the agreement, would also respond heavily to any violation of the accord. If the agreement, the agreement said, could return to their homes in the south if peace was maintained. But as Christopher attempted to get the Arab-Israeli negotiations back on track, last week's dramatic battles were a reversal of the Israeli military's earlier, guns continue to do a great deal of the talking.

Beirut. "We are human beings, not animals," said Ali Brikat, 44, a refugee who stood in the living room near Tyre highway, along with thousands of others crowded within, who chose to hatch a side war from their hideouts. "Let them have money as we let them have money as the children." The Israeli government said that while it regretted the killing of innocent civilians, it hoped that the new war release was, which overwhelmed even Israeli soldiers in and around Beirut, would pressure the Lebanese government and its Syrian backers to curb guerrilla activity directed at Israel from Lebanese soil. But while the Beirut government pushed for Hezbollah to stop the attacks, officials said that it could not rest in the night unless Israel returned completely from southern Lebanon.

Hezbollah's deliberate attempt to uproot southern Lebanon's civilian population drew strong worldwide condemnation. U.S. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali denounced the continuing attacks in southern Lebanon despite repeated appeals for restraint. Said the secretary general: "The policy of deliberate targeting people in shantytowns their houses must be stopped forthwith and those who have been displaced should be enabled to return to peace and safety."

In Washington, President Bill Clinton, who announced Secretary of State Warren Christopher hours later in favor of Arafat to denounce the situation, called on both the Hezbollah guerrillas and the Israeli government to end the fighting. And while he praised Syria, which has 25,000 troops in Lebanon, for "showing restraint" in the crisis, he called on the government of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to become an "active participant" in securing a ceasefire. Clinton would try to persuade Israel to stop the attacks. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said he would continue. She caught Clinton's support for U.S. efforts to revive Middle East peace talks, and added, "There's an ongoing dynamic of violence there and unless we can get some permanent solution, we're going to continue to have these situations. Canada's position is that we want to see some talks resumption."

At week's end, Israeli and guerrilla gun fire killed after Israel ordered an army to halt its seven-day assault. The agreement, worked out with U.S. mediation, said that Hezbollah guerrillas would stop firing Katyushas rockets at Israel, but the guerrillas, the agreement, would also respond heavily to any violation of the accord. If the agreement, the agreement said, could return to their homes in the south if peace was maintained. But as Christopher attempted to get the Arab-Israeli negotiations back on track, last week's dramatic battles were a reversal of the Israeli military's earlier, guns continue to do a great deal of the talking.

Beirut. "We are human beings, not animals," said Ali Brikat, 44, a refugee who stood in the living room near Tyre highway, along with thousands of others crowded within, who chose to hatch a side war from their hideouts. "Let them have money as we let them have money as the children." The Israeli government said that while it regretted the killing of innocent civilians, it hoped that the new war release was, which overwhelmed even Israeli soldiers in and around Beirut, would pressure the Lebanese government and its Syrian backers to curb guerrilla activity directed at Israel from Lebanese soil. But while the Beirut government pushed for Hezbollah to stop the attacks, officials said that it could not rest in the night unless Israel returned completely from southern Lebanon.

Hezbollah's deliberate attempt to uproot southern Lebanon's civilian population drew strong worldwide condemnation. U.S. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali denounced the continuing attacks in southern Lebanon despite repeated appeals for restraint. Said the secretary general: "The policy of deliberate targeting people in shantytowns their houses must be stopped forthwith and those who have been displaced should be enabled to return to peace and safety."

DOMINION IN ITALY

A series of right-wing neo-fascist bombings of Italian cultural targets killed five people and injured 38 others. An explosion in Milan destroyed a wing of the Royal Palace, while bombs in Rome damaged the Basilica of St. John Lateran and destroyed the front of the seventh-century church of San Giorgio in Velabro near the Roman Forum. Police suspect the Mafia may be trying to derail investigations into a huge car-rigging scandal.

DAILY GAS

Czech military experts are investigating a possible link between the recently nerve agent Sarin and so-called Gulf War Syndrome. Hundreds of American and British veterans have complained of fever, coughing, shortness of breath, dizziness, fatigue and aching joints. Czech Defense Minister Antonio Stedra said that Czechs attached to a Saudi military unit only in the 1991 Gulf War had developed traces of Sarin in the air after Allied air strikes on Iraqi chemical weapons arsenals.

BRACING FOR CHANGE

Eight Japanese opposition parties announced the formation of a minority coalition and launched anti-graft campaigns. Morihiro Hosokawa, 55, as their candidate for prime minister. Parliament scheduled a special session to accept a measure to ban backfire. Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, whose Liberal Democratic Party lost its 35-year-old majority on a July 16 general election.

A WOMAN TO THE MINOR

The U.S. Senate policy committee unanimously approved the nomination of Ruth Seder Gensberg, 66, as the nation's second woman Secretary of State, after Sandra Day O'Connor, appointed in 1981. The 147 Senate vote, expected to give Gensberg that approval this week.

A TORY DEFEAT

Britain's Conservative party suffered a crushing by-election defeat to the opposition Liberal Democrats, losing a seat that had safely held since 1959 in the south coast town of Christchurch. The result cut the Tory's majority to 17 in the 62-seat House of Commons. Party chairman Sir Norman Fowler blamed the loss on an anti-Tory campaign over claims that the party was out of touch with the wishes of its voters; recovery and a reduction of train service between London and the Christchurch area.

WORLD

A WAR OF WILLS

ISRAEL UNLEASHES A DEVASTATING ATTACK ON SOUTHERN LEBANON

Onlookers cautiously removed their heads from their ringing ears. The deafening explosions at one-cubic-mile intervals from the Israeli artillery battery across the Lebanese border had finally stopped. "In fact, the end of the shooting" asked a military reporter. "No," replied a young Israeli army conscript. "It's the end of the night."

In its most devastating attack against southern Lebanon since its 1982 invasion, Israel last week unleashed destruction upon dozens of smaller villages in a 50-km area from the Mediterranean coast to the slopes of Mount Hermon. Day after day, big guns, along with attack helicopters, jet fighters and army warships pounded areas said by the

Israelis to house and nurture the fanatical Shiite Islamic militants of Hezbollah, the Iranian-backed "Army of God," sworn enemies of both the Jewish state and the apostate Middle East peace negotiations. And the firepower was certainly awesome, reducing large parts of towns and villages to rubble. But throughout the week, defiant Hezbollah fighters, firmly committed to sabotaging the 21 month-old talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors, had back, firing surface-to-surface Katyusha rockets into northern Israel and forcing thousands of Israeli civilians to flee bomb shelters.

The Israeli declaration for the Israeli assault came amid Operation Accountability, was an increase in hostilities by Hezbollah militants and radical Palestinians against

Israeli troops in Israel's self-proclaimed "security zone" in southern Lebanon. The militants, who oppose the Washington-sponsored peace process, have recently accelerated strikes against Israeli troops in the 25-km-wide zone that Israel created last year in 1985 withdrawal from Lebanon as a strategic buffer against guerrilla incursions from the north. Attacks in early July killed seven Israeli soldiers at the security zone.

In addition to retaliating for these deaths, the Israeli plan was designed to bring a halt to smuggling. Hezbollah attacks such as Katyusha rockets against Israeli military and civilian targets over the past 18 months. "There had been serious bombings and other attacks over the years, but Israel did not react like this," said Mark Bregan, a Tel Aviv University lecturer

Shouba, barely a mile from the Lebanese border, a rocket scored a direct hit on a shelter. It did not penetrate the concrete roof but flung the black Israeli rocks, which razed the bunker, in all directions. By chance, no body was made—many nearby residents had chosen to return to the comfort of their homes despite the danger. "The shelter's so cramped and smelly that nobody wants to use it," explained Elia Mor, a 16-year-old boy whose father's car was killed. He was sheltered by the army. But the shelter with small children were having the hardest time. Yael Kuper, 25, mother of a three-month-old child, ran out of baby formula because the shops were all closed. Her husband turned to the police, who forced a casual guard in ages until his stocks ran out. The couple put the very last of the baby formula.

But the heaviest bombardment came from the Israeli side. After five days of fighting, UN observers said that 22,000 Israeli heavier shells and 1,000 rockets landed north of the security zone, compared with 275 Katyushas fired at the Israeli side. In northern Israel, the attacks on shelters or Israeli soldiers, more than 300,000 in the Lebanese self-declared zone of a total population of 800,000, fled northwards in cars, trucks and buses, jamming the Lebanese coast highway to

SCOTT STEWART is an ABC 20/20 reporter in Kyoto, Japan, and a frequent contributor to World Notes.

A fair-weather friend?

Bill Clinton still must prove himself to America's blacks

Janita Moore remembers going to vote in last November's US election at a polling station near the car motel in Memphis, Tenn., where, while awaiting armed Jesus Earl Ray, she found a charismatic black minister named Martin Luther King on an April night in 1968. Moore, an historian, now runs a museum in the former hotel that is dedicated to King's lifelong battle for civil rights. She recalls the anxiety on the face of an elderly black woman who was determined to cast her ballot last fall for the first Democrat in a decade with a better-than-average chance of winning the White House. "This old lady said, 'I would be here today if I had to cross!'", Moore recalled last week. But nine months after Bill Clinton received 50 per cent of the black vote, not, Moore American, says Moore, "there is still a little deeper to find really good things to say about him."

In fact, Clinton's relationship with the 30 million US blacks was rocky even before his election. During the campaign Clinton squabbled with prominent Democrat Jesse Jackson and angered some blacks by criticizing neo-Nazi Boister South for what he supported when he incited violence against whites. Since taking office, President Clinton has appointed a record number of blacks to administration positions, including Secretary of Commerce Ronald Brown—the most senior cabinet post ever held by a black. But many African-Americans express deep dismay at other Clinton decisions. The most notable: the President's reversal of a promise to ease Haitian immigration, his retreat from a program of economic stimulus for inner cities and his abandonment of controversial black lawyer Lani Grier's nomination as civil rights chief.

By last week, as Clinton scrambled to shore up support for his latest prominent appointment—black pediatrician Dr. Joycelyn Elders, his nominee for surgeon general—many blacks were beginning to question their long-standing loyalty to the Democratic party. Declared John Wiley Price, a city councillor in Dallas, Tex: "We've got another white boy who is a little younger and says he is from another generation. But he has not raised the issues that are pertinent to our community."

Increasingly, those concerns reflect the fears to turn the civil rights victories that King fought for in the 1960s into tangible economic and social gains for the 10 per cent of Americans who are black. Evidence of the economic inequality and open animosity that persist between America's black minority and its white majority is widespread. Last Tuesday reported last week that 1991 drug arrest records showed that blacks, who use drugs in roughly equal proportion to whites, were four times as likely to be arrested on drug-related charges. That report reinforced numerous studies showing that blacks, among other things, are less likely to receive mortgages than equally qualified whites, are twice as likely to be unemployed and suffer almost three times the infant mortality rate of whites.

Meanwhile, a firestorm last week served grim notice that the violent white racism towards blacks that once is up the night sky is southern towns with the flames of burning crosses is far from extinguished. The attack on the Serrano, Cal.



Clinton with Elders: standing by his nominee

Calif., office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the country's largest civil rights organization, came just one week after an assault on an NAACP office in Tacoma, Wash. And earlier last month authorities in California rounded up four groups of white supremacists and accused them of plotting to advance what some called "a racial holy war" by attacking black targets. Among the targets was the First African Methodist Episcopalian church in Los Angeles. While Mark Whitlock, director of an economic development program operated by the church, said Atlanta's "This was an example for the world to see what we do. We experience racism daily."

Whitlock is one of many blacks who give Clinton a mixed grade on his race relations performance to date. "Seven years in history here we had so many African-American appointments," he observed. But Whitlock called the President's withdrawal of Grier's nomination—which came after Clinton and he could not support her writings on the need for radical changes to the criminal system in order to increase minority representation in politics—"conspicuously best."

Backing off on the Grier appointment provoked a firestorm among black leaders. Vice-President Al Gore gave a cool reception when he addressed the NAACP's national convention in July when, a day later, Grier received a hero's welcome. And black leaders dug at their heels over the nomination of incoming Elders's nomination. A 59-year-old physician who was director of the Arkansas Department of Health from 1987 until last month, Elders had come under attack from several religious and mostly white conservative groups for her advocacy of early sex education and the free distribution of condoms in public schools, measures aimed at reducing teenage pregnancies and the spread of AIDS—both of which disproportionately afflict blacks. Declared Jon Marshall, a spokeswoman for the Concerned Women for America: "Joycelyn Elders is Clinton's most radical appointment yet." Marshall described the president's stand on early sex education (which has the support of the American Medical Association, among other professional groups) as "antithetical to educational child abuse."

But among blacks, the Elders appointment became a litmus test for Clinton's commitment to ensuring that blacks with liberal credentials will play a prominent role in his administration. "She speaks to the heart of many issues that the African-American community has been most concerned about," said Marshall. Danley, a Fort Worth, Tex., attorney who specializes in family law. "I think the inner city's right on time in where she's going."

Delmar's law would a major at the Clinton debate, the White House, unleashed a full-court press last week to demonstrate what a spokesman said was Clinton's "100-percent support" for Elders. The administration organized a coalition of 150 health-care, education and religious groups to counter Marshall and her allies. Meanwhile Gore and Senator Edward Kennedy, the latter suffering a broken meeting

"Support your Elders," lashed senators at the nominee's behalf. By last week, the offensive appeared to be having effect. On Friday, the Senate Labor and human resources committee, which Kennedy chairs, approved Elders's nomination. But opponents promised a stiff floor fight to overturn the nomination when it comes before the full Senate for a vote, expected this week.

Even if Elders is finally confirmed, many blacks wonder that their support for the Democratic party, once considered automatic, should no longer be taken for granted. "We vote a Democratic blue," observed attorney Danley, expressing a common analysis, "so we don't have to do anything to get our vote." That, she said, must change. "We need to go back to the drawing board and come up with a strategy to leverage our vote."

Like many blacks, Danley welcomed recent steps by the 20-member Congressional Black Caucus, the largest African-American delegation ever on Capitol Hill, to extract more concessions from the administration in return for its support. After Grier's withdrawal, the caucus snubbed several White House overtures and refused to meet with Clinton to discuss his stalled budget. Declared caucus chairman Representative Kwame M. (D-MD). "One of the great misconceptions of the Democratic party is that blacks have nowhere else to go."

Los Angeles church activist Whitlock says that African-American leaders must begin to look beyond politics. "We put too much credence in our political rights," Whitlock asserts. "The political gains of the 60s and the 70s, for the African-American in the 1980s, have been very small," he noted. Whitlock wants to see more focus and investment in black-owned business, education and family stability.

"Will we give up completely on Clinton? Certainly not," he said. "But the question mark continues to grow larger." For Clinton, such nagging fears mean that he will have to work harder than any Democratic president in recent history for the once-reliable support of millions of black American voters.

CHRIS WOOD in Dallas with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

who wears khakis?

Reasonable doubt

Israel's Supreme Court acquits Demjanjuk

For a moment, it seemed that the years of solitary confinement had deprived Jaha Demjanjuk of all emotion. Or maybe, at age 72, he was simply weary from the fight. For whatever reason, the longtime farmer from Cleveland, Ohio, automatically displayed no elation, or even relief, as he listened to the Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem acquit him of some of the most heinous crimes in history. Demjanjuk had been facing a death sentence since his 1988 conviction in Israel of being "Iron the Terrible," a vile guard responsible for the deaths of thousands of Jews at the Nazi extermination camp in Treblinka, Poland, during the Second World War. Last week's verdict revealed that sentence, ended seven years of confinement in Israeli prison and brought to a close a legal struggle that, for Demjanjuk, began in 1957. His son, John Jr., wept and said he was "glad to see that [the judges] actually had the courage to stop the

injustice." But Demjanjuk, a bald and bespectacled native of Ukraine, made but one plaintive comment to reporters: "I miss my wife. I miss my family. I miss my grandfather. I want to go home."

Demjanjuk, however, will not go home, at least not yet. His adopted country, the United States, has withheld his return on the grounds that he led on his 1950 mass-grassion application. Moreover, the court made it clear that while there was reasonable doubt that he was Treblinka's "Iron," there was evidence that Demjanjuk had been a guard at at least one other death camp. (Demjanjuk claims to have spent the last years of the war being detained by the Germans, not working for them.) In resolving the 20-hour judgment, Israeli Chief Justice Meir Shamgar said the five judges reached one vote, Justice Aharon Barak, who was a child survivor of the Holocaust—decided not to convict Demjanjuk on that evidence only

because he had not had the chance to defend himself against those specific charges.

The verdict may have a chilling effect on future prosecution of suspected war criminals. Legal experts say that, in some extent, Demjanjuk's acquittal discredited the testimony of eyewitnesses and raised questions about whether any testimony can be regarded as credible 50 years after the fact. Demjanjuk was originally sentenced after he had been identified as Iron by five survivors of Treblinka, a camp where more than 800,000 Jews were killed in gas chambers in 1942 and 1943. But his appeal gained momentum after the 1988 release of previously secret Soviet KGB files that indicated that another Ukrainian, Ivan Marchenko, was the master of Treblinka. "The judges are saying that I am not authentic," said Josef Gervay, one of the five eyewitnesses, after the acquittal. "I shall carry this stain in my dying day. I say to the most honorable judges: Wrong! Wrong! Wrong! Where is the justice in this? Demjanjuk is 100 percent guilty!"

But many Jewish leaders praised the court for seeking justice, not vengeance. Israeli Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal said that he would have backed down the same verdict. "As a Jew, I am proud of the way the Supreme Court handled the case," said Wiesenthal, who in 1960 tracked down Gervay (now called Adolf Eichmann, the only man ever executed by Israel). Irving Abella, president of the Montreal-based Canadian Jewish



Demjanjuk in prison: reasonable doubt is in Treblinka's 'Iron the Terrible'

Congress, agreed with Wiesenthal. "It is clear that the whole thing was a bad act," Abella said, "but it showed that Jews can judge war criminals."

If the Demjanjuk case has dented the le-

gal power of eyewitness accounts of Nazi war crimes, it may force those who hope to prosecute suspected criminals to depend their tactics in Ottawa, the justice department's war crimes section is working to

win a March, 1994, deadline to wrap up war crimes cases in Canada. But at a meeting in Justice Minister Pierre Blais's Ottawa office in June, Canadian Jewish Congress officials urged the department to resolve outstanding rights of suspected Nazi war criminals on the basis that they led about their path to get into Canada. Departing them, said CPC president Abella, requires accepting less evidence than would a full-fledged criminal prosecution for war crimes.

By his muted response to his acquittal, Demjanjuk seemed to understand that his was a Pyrrhic victory. His first days of "free time" were spent back in his prison cell near Tel Aviv, under protection until a country agreed to accept him. At week's end, Ukrainian officials said that Demjanjuk would not return near Kharkov temporarily. But the Israeli justice ministry said Demjanjuk could only leave if the Supreme Court, meeting Sunday, rejected calls for him to be tried on other war crimes charges. Clearly, the case raised an unsettling ambiguity. "This is a very, very sad day for the survivors, a very happy day for the wrong people," said Eliezer Duvol, Israel's leading Nazi hunter. "The fact that he was acknowledged as the one [and] he is a Nazi war criminal, and on the other was able to walk out of here as a free man, means that the law was adhered to. But justice wasn't done."

JAMES DRACON with BBC's SCOTT in Jerusalem

IT'S ALIVE

The image is as sharp as an eagle's eye. The sound, as enveloping as the desert heat. The Toshiba Cinema Series of televisions summons startling images and evokes mind-blowing reactions. An unprecedented format system, home, this super-power picture. Our original sound system will perk up your ears and curl their appetites. And just one after the sound, 50,000 pixels—more than twice the number of pixels in a standard 1080i TV—fill the screen with a clarity and detail that is truly breathtaking. The Toshiba Cinema Series is the only TV in the world that can display 1080p, the highest resolution video format available today. It's the only TV in the world that can display 1080p, the highest resolution video format available today. It's the only TV in the world that can display 1080p, the highest resolution video format available today.

In Touch with Tomorrow

TOSHIBA

CINEMA SERIES

Picture shown for illustrative purposes only. © 2003 Toshiba America Electronic Components, Inc. All rights reserved. 1080p is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union. 1080i is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union. 1080p is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union. 1080i is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union. 1080p is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union. 1080i is a registered trademark of the International Telecommunications Union.

BREWING UP A STORM

BREWERS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER ARE FOAMING OVER A NEW BEER TRADE PACT

For many American beer drinkers, the beverage is the blue green bottle with the magnetic recessed on the label is a headliner—and popular—product. Since Moosehead Breweries Ltd. of Saint John, N.B., first began exporting beer to the United States in 1978, it has become the seventh-largest imported beer of the 480 brands available in that market. Moosehead also sells its beer in England, Australia, and, since April, in Sweden. Until recently, inter-provincial trade barriers blocked Moosehead, Canada's third-largest brewery, from selling beer elsewhere in the country. But with those trade barriers now dismantled, Moosehead is available in all provinces except Quebec and Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, industry association Dennis Olson says that many provinces still have protectionist measures in place in the form of restrictive pricing policies and distribution systems. Such practices, he argues, discriminate against out-of-province brewers, making their products more costly and harder to come by than in their home state. "It is easier for us to get into Sweden than into some provinces in Canada."

American brewers have long made similar complaints about provincial beer marketing practices—especially those in Ontario, the largest beer market in Canada. In fact, the most recent round of provincial beer skirmishes began a year ago, when Washington slapped a 58 (U.S.) duty on each case of Canadian beer shipped to the United States through Ontario. Canada retaliated with an equivalent tariff on American beer shipped to Ontario. That dispute was triggered when the United States accused Canada of dragging its feet on earlier promises to dismantle its provincial barriers to trade, which restricted most beer from other countries. For the mature U.S. beer industry, whose own overcapacity market is already served by some of the largest brewers in the world, Canada's \$1-billion beer market offered a tempting way to expand its

sales. But faced with steadily declining beer consumption, the Canadian industry is in its own rush to welcome U.S. imports. Still, when the Geneva-based General Agreement on Trade and Trade (GATT) ruled on two separate decisions that Canada must remove its trade barriers to beer, it began reluctantly to do so.

In May, Canadian and U.S. negotiators resumed their discussions. Now, some government and industry insiders say that they soon expect to see that conflict resolved under a new beer trade agreement. The negotiations are trying to come to agreement over issues such as minimum prices, limits and special environmental levies on some provinces. However, they have regularly left intact each province's methods of distributing and selling beer.

Whatever progress is made at the bargaining table, however, the dispute over beer may be far from over. Although details of the talks have not yet been fully released, both sides' negotiators have kept the provinces informed—and many of them already say that they will not accept the emerging proposals. In fact, senior provincial officials of New Brunswick, Quebec and British Columbia all told *Maclean's* they will not agree to the deal as it is now appears to be shaping up. And because many of alcoholic beverages are under provincial production, any federal agreement would, in effect, be pointless without the support of the provinces. Still, Dennis Lortie, New Brunswick's minister of economic development, "We should settle our problems internally before we settle with the Americans," he added. "We won't be party to this deal if our products are treated the same as foreign products in Ontario."

Indeed, such an overlap of international and inter-provincial trade issues could greatly complicate long-term efforts to resolve the pro-



Olson: "It is easier to get into Sweden than into some provinces in Canada."

tracted trade dispute. For one thing, U.S. negotiators have been pushing for a "stand-still" clause that would bring provinces from adjusting some of their current beer marketing practices. As a result, a wide range of provincial efforts to achieve reciprocity with Ontario—a key factor in reducing inter-provincial trade barriers. For Quebec, the new beer trade proposals are "fully unacceptable." He supported the April 1992 Canada-U.S. agreement, subject to reciprocity, said John Ducey, Quebec's minister for international affairs. "But that did not happen," he added. "The position at Quebec has not changed. We are prepared to live by that agreement. Quebec is not the one looking up this deal."

For its part, David Zerkoff, minister of economic development, small business and trade for British Columbia, claims that the Canada U.S. beer dispute also raises the issue of sovereignty for all the provinces involved. British Columbia is currently considering environmental legislation that would affect all beverage containers including beer. But if the proposed stand-still clause went into effect, the province could have difficulty proceeding. "The United

States wants to invade us on the province," Zerkoff says. "We won't give up provincial sovereignty for international trade."

Jonathan Lortie, a Canadian trade analyst with the National Planning Association, a Washington-based trade think-tank, notes that it is significant that the United States has specifically targeted such provincial trade practices for the first time. It is unusual, he says, for the U.S. government to focus on attacks on a subunit of government, rather than a national government. "This is unusual just because of beer and more because of the extent to which Ontario and other subunits are certain industries," Lortie explained, adding that if Washington succeeds in forcing Ontario to back down, it will then likely go after other provinces. "The provinces are now more vulnerable than they were in the past to actions from the United States."

Efforts at lowering barriers to trade in beer—both internationally and inter-provincially—have stalled before. Since the 1980s, provincial regulations have required brewers to make beer in the province where

they sell it. But in 1988 GATT ruled that all the provinces' liquor, beer and wine regulations discriminate against foreign producers. That ruling compelled Ontario and the provinces to begin negotiations to unravel the complex web of barriers. The United States agreed to exempt beer under the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA), provided that Canada comply with GATT rules and did not erect any new barriers.

In 1990, however, the Ontario government sharply increased "bottling charges" as cases of beer from outside the province. Since then, it has been at the center of the beer trade dispute. In 1990 across prompted Stroh Brewery Co. of Detroit and G. Heileman Brewing Co. of La Crosse, Wis., to file petitions against Ontario under U.S. trade law. Under the U.S. Trade Act, American companies can request Washington to initiate against foreign countries that violate U.S. rights under GATT. The United States has then took the matter to GATT.

As a result, Canada rejected an agreement in principle in April 1992, to the free and

RINGING IN NEW BUSINESS

Northern Telecom Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont., has sold \$525 million worth of telephone switches to China. Under an agreement with the Chinese government, Northern will invest up to \$200 million over the next five years to develop, manufacture and sell the switches through local joint ventures. The company recently purchased part of a \$1.3-billion second-quarter loss to buying sales of its equipment in the highly competitive U.S. market. Last week, Northern's Montreal-based parent company, Bell Inc., reported a \$560-million loss for the second quarter of 1993, which it blamed in part on competition at Northern.

TURNOVER AT THE TILLS

The German Bundesbank's refusal to cut its benchmark discount interest rate brought turmoil to other European currencies and raised pressure in France and other countries to pull out of the joint Exchange Rate Mechanism last week. Germany's high interest rates, which result from concern about its 4.5-percent inflation rate, have forced other European countries to keep their rates higher. Germany's discount rate, the lowest rate for loans to commercial banks, remained at 6.75 per cent.

A STAGNANT ECONOMY

Canada's gross domestic product barely budged in May, according to Statistics Canada. The value of total goods and services produced in the economy, measured by industry production and at annual rates, was \$512.6 billion in May, compared with \$512.4 billion in April. The value of goods produced fell 0.2 per cent in May after a 0.7 per cent drop in April. The Conference Board of Canada said last week that it has lowered its forecast for economic growth this year to 2.4 per cent from 3.7 per cent.

REINTEGRATING RUSSIA

The Federal Court of Canada has ruled in favor of Canadian Airbus International Ltd. of Calgary in the battle over claims by CIL and Air Canada of Montreal. The court confirmed that the federal competition tribunal has the power to release Canadian from its obligations in the German reintegration network. Canadian set up the network with Air Canada but it now must leave Germany and join the Sabre network to qualify for a \$160-million government loan. CIL, which owns American Airlines and Sabre,

ages made of beer by Sept. 30, 1995. But in May, 1993, Ontario also levied a 10-cent-a-can environment tax on aluminum beer cans. Ontario claims such an environment tax is legal under GATT, but U.S. brewers say that in light of the fact that most American beer is sold in a can, the tax is really just thinly disguised protectionism. Randy Seash, general counsel at Heileman's, and that the company does not object to container deposits (but are unlikely applied). But he notes, the tax does not apply to beer sold from kegs—which is how most Canadian beer is sold—or to soft drink cans.

Ontario, however, has managed to emerge all out-of-province brew can by establishing a commitment to pay \$15.85 for a case of 24 beers. As well, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario applies charges for handling and distributing imported beer that do not apply to locally brewed products. Furthermore, brewers Royal In, which Molson and Labatt breweries control in Ontario, charges more to warehouse and distribute out-of-province beers. As a result, a smooch of Moosehead currently costs \$1.65 in Ontario, while regular Molson and Labatt brands cost \$1.35.

For the giant American breweries, who often compete on price as well as taste, these additional expenses represent a major stumbling block. Under the terms of the pending beer trade agreement reached so far between Canada and the United States, there is a provision to reduce Ontario's distribution fees "substantially." But the Ontario price for a case of beer would be reduced only slightly and the U.S.-Canada environment levy would remain. Seash says that Heileman will appeal to Congress if U.S. trade officials agree to these terms.

Despite Ontario's claims that the minimum price is a social-welfare policy designed to discourage alcohol consumption, critics say the province could achieve its aim more fairly in other ways. Instead, they suggest that Ontario should ultimately raise its excise tax on beer, but leave companies free to determine their own prices. "They shouldn't screw around with the price to the consumer," Seash added. "The drinking beer war is just one more dose in the increasingly fractious list of trade disputes between Canada and the United States. From steel to softwood lumber, the two sides have accused each

other of "discriminating" as selling products at less than fair value, in their markets. In each case, Canada and the United States are pursuing all available options, including appealing to their own trade commissions as well as

A TRADE ROUNDUP

THE BURDEN OF PROOF

A Canada-U.S. trade panel ruled last week that there was scant evidence that Canadian exports of softwood lumber had harmed U.S. producers. The U.S. International Trade Commission has until Oct. 25 to reconsider its decision. In May, 1992, it imposed a provisional 6.51-per-cent duty on Canadian softwood



A CANADA-U.S. STAND-OFF

The Canadian International Trade Tribunal upheld anti-dumping duties of up to 37.3 per cent on cold-rolled sheet steel imports last week. Two days earlier, the U.S. International Trade Commission overturned dumping claims against hot- and cold-rolled steel from 20 countries, including Canada. However, it upheld import duties of 26.3 per cent on galvanized steel and 88.7 per cent on steel plate from Canada.



STILL TO BE

NAFTA is scheduled to take effect Jan. 1, 1994. But President Bill Clinton has said he will not take the agreement to the U.S. Congress until side deals are struck on labor and the environment. Three-way negotiations of those side agreements continued in Washington last week.



the dispute-resolution mechanisms provided under the FTA.

Still, even disagreements as to how to agree have cropped up. Last week, Trade Minister Tim Hill and with U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor and Mexican Commerce Secretary Jaime Serra Puche to try to reach an agreement on side deals to the

North American Free Trade Agreement. Canada has already ratified NAFTA, but President Bill Clinton has issued an supplemental agreement to protect labor and the environment. Although negotiators have agreed in many technical issues involved in the side deals, a key U.S. demand remains unresolved: trade sanctions that would punish countries that fail to enforce their labor and trade laws. Canada has sided with Mexico in opposing the proposed sanctions.

U.S. industries they say, could use the sanctions to harm their Canadian and Mexican competitors. Despite the list of restrictions, trade experts think that the United States is not signaling out Canada. According to Charles Dore, director of Canadian studies at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, the fragile global economy is at the root of the current problems. As many U.S. industries continue to shrink, they are pushing Washington for protection. "In Washington, there is about the same kind of goodwill towards Canada as always," says Dore. "But the economic climate is only tough. Until we get into a boom period where the economies are growing rapidly, these trade disputes will not go away; they will seem to get more serious."

Among Canadian brewers, the Molson Cos. Ltd. of Toronto has been hardest hit by the U.S. duties, paying about \$3 million a month to ship beer over the Ontario border to the United States. The company would welcome an end to the dispute, said Barry Joshi, the company's senior vice-president. But as a result of Canada's recent victory on softwood lumber he noted, "The political landscape may have changed enough to settle the beer deal." According to Joshi, while there is no direct link between those two trade issues, "it's conceivable that some trade-offs take place, especially in the realm of political goodwill." But as the current standstill continues, goodwill—even among the provinces—appears to be in short supply.

BARBARA WICKENS with RUSSELL GORTNER in Washington

Introducing the Blue Cross Annual Travel Plan. Because we all forget important things from time to time.

At Blue Cross we recognize it's only human to forget. Unfortunately it may also be expensive. Especially when you forget to travel with health insurance.

That's why we've introduced the Blue Cross Annual Travel Plan. For as little as \$49* a year you can travel up to 15 days without rethinking yourself to buy health insurance

for longer trips. Call us and we'll automatically provide additional top-up coverage by simply billing your credit card.

For coverage, contact your travel agent or call 1-800-COVER ME. In Toronto, you can reach us at 429-2868.

It's your guarantee that you never forget to travel with health insurance again.

☐ Please send me more information.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROVINCE

PHONE #

MAILING CODE



Hospital workers in Ontario, Ont.: People are concerned about themselves

Great divides

Austerity forces hard choices in Ontario

The air outside the Ottawa Holiday Inn, 40 km east of Toronto, was heavy and hot on the evening of July 28. Inside, small clusters of people dressed in bright summer clothes assembled in a scuffed meeting room. The group consisted of about 75 health-care workers who are members of Region 3 and the 110,000-member Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). They had gathered, full of questions and concerns, to learn more about the province's "social contract," negotiations between their union, their employers and the NDP government of Ontario. With the legislated Aug. 1 deadline for agreements on public-sector spending cuts looming, the atmosphere in the room was tense. The six unions representing the health-care sector had signed an agreement on July 15. But at the last minute, the Ontario Hospital Association, which represents 223 public hospitals, balked and refused to sign the deal. And Martin Sparrow, a physiotherapist at Ajax-Pickering Hospital "We sit at least all the time and talk about what's going on and try to understand it." But even after the meeting, she says, it's all so confusing.

Sparrow is not the only one among Ontario's 500,000 public-sector employees to express frustration at the bitter wrangling and lingering uncertainty that have marked the social contract talks. Weeks before his government's potential budget was outlined

on May 10, Premier Bob Rae declared that Ontario must cut \$2 billion a year from its annual \$50-billion public-sector payroll as part of an austerity program to hold the budget deficit below \$10 billion. Initial attempts at massive collective bargaining sessions, covering 220 separate unions, 10,000 labor agreements and 150 public-sector employers, quickly degenerated into chaos and conflict. The government then divided the public sector into eight key groups, assigning each sector a specific budget reduction target. But any agreements must now be applied at the local level. "A key Canadian pattern of bargaining is emerging," noted Donald Carter, dean of law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "It is fragmented and decentralizing and Ontario's social contract will be forged locally—at the big table."

According to Brent Timpane, a political-science professor at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ont., there is no historical precedent or "rationale" for a collectively negotiated social contract in Ontario. In fact, he says, there is not even a tradition of union solidarity in the province. "The NDP tried to reimagine in weeks a model that took years to develop elsewhere," says Timpane. "They introduced a radical departure in established practice." That lack of experience in such complex talks and the widely divergent interests among—and within—the eight sectors have contributed to mass

to a \$50-million public-sector job security fund and more detailed financial information about their workplace. But on the eve of the deadline at week's end, only the social-services and municipal sectors, covering about 220,000 workers, had reached agreements.

Facing last agreement by the deadline, the provincial government was empowered to cancel several discussions by another 30 days. Without such an extension, a so-called last-off provision at half-80 becomes effective. That clause permits termination of a three-year wage freeze, layoffs and 13 days of annual unpaid leave. "It's been forced to make these choices under the NDP is absolutely doable," Bob Hain, a member of OPSEU's health sector bargaining team told the *Ottawa Citizen* last week. But he said, "We're all sitting at these tables to realize the damage."

Even after various unions bridge their differences and large agreements at the sector level, there is an even bigger task ahead at the local level. Saul Joss (Laker), an executive board member of Region 3 and a nurse at Whitby Psychiatric Hospital in Whitby, Ont., "The matter how much each analysis we try to show, we can never overcome all the fear and anxiety out there." Furthermore, Joss admitted that union leaders can be difficult to maintain where workers feel threatened.

Despite the concerted but modest effort on most fronts to negotiate agreements, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the largest public-sector union, continued its boycott of the talks last week. "The NDP tried to reimagine in weeks a model that took years to develop elsewhere," says Timpane. "They introduced a radical departure in established practice." That lack of experience in such complex talks and the widely divergent interests among—and within—the eight sectors have contributed to mass

confusion, Timpane argues.

The social contract, which is defined by the recently passed Bill 18, provided direct access from far unions to cooperate with a process that they criticized harshly and resisted strongly. Under the law, we found groups that successfully concluded an agreement by Aug. 1 automatically qualified for a 20-per-cent reduction in the amounts they must out from their budgets. At stake in the health-care deal, for example, was a reduction in the required annual cost to \$45 million from \$550 million as a reward for reaching a voluntary agreement. Furthermore, the law promised any union that concluded such a deal permission to negotiate their own local solutions to achieve those required cuts. By cooperating, they also stood to gain access

Wielding the corporate axe

IBM and Northern Telecom grapple with plans for massive staff layoffs

In the announcement that every employee of a large organization demands massive job cuts, with little warning at where the axe will fall. Last week, Louis Gerstner, the new chairman of beleaguered computer giant International Business Machines Corp., announced plans to slash 60,000 jobs from IBM's worldwide payroll and shut down an underused mainframe line of factories and offices by the end of next year. The company also announced a massive \$8.9 billion (U.S.) fall summer pay cut, other costs connected with the downsizing. Gerstner's announcement came a week after Jack Morley, president of telecommunications equipment manufacturer Northern Telecom Ltd., based in Mississauga, Ont., announced plans to eliminate 3,000 jobs, including 2,000 in Canada, a move that will cost \$282 million in restructuring charges. Both executives defended the looming layoffs by saying that they had to face up to long-standing problems in their companies and avoid what Gerstner called the "Chinese water torture" of small cuts over several years.

Despite their moves to face up to the latter challenge at once, both Gerstner and Morley, as well as the company managers who will have to implement the cuts, face more gut wrenching choices in the months ahead. At IBM Canada Ltd., which employs 6,000 people, officials said that they have yet to decide whether they will need to make any additional cuts as part of Gerstner's plan. Like other executives who have tried to carve huge slices out of their workforces in the early 1990s, both Gerstner and Morley have set specific targets for job cuts. IBM, for one, already has considerable experience with such moves. In 1989, Gerstner slashed its worldwide workforce by 103,000—or one-third—over the past five years, including 3,000 jobs at IBM Canada. But as IBM and other large corporations have also learned from previous downsizing drives, setting targets and meeting them are two different things. Bob Hain, a member at the Toronto-based consulting firm William Mercer Ltd., who advises companies on staff reductions, "There is no magic science."

Even before they announced cuts, Boeckner says that IBM and Northern Telecom managers may have made their task more difficult by delaying the tough decisions. But Boeckner added that that it is understandable. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

technology. The first instinct of most executives during a business slump is to sit back and pray for a turnaround. If problems persist, they usually consider other options for saving money or enhancing revenues first. At Northern Telecom, while Morley is reducing staff, he also plans to invest \$120 million in new

Gerstner trying to avoid the "Chinese water torture"

software to upgrade Northern Telecom's production line—a move that analysts say is profitable. At IBM, former chairman John Akers also struggled to streamline operations, and to cut employees and investment at the bleeding—but lately competitive—personal computer market from the ending market for large machine computers. But Akers was ousted in March by company directors who were impatient with his reforms. Still, both Gerstner and Morley acknowledge that their new corporate strategies could produce a turnaround at their companies without accompanying payroll cuts. As a key corporate downsizing, just setting the number of jobs to be cut is a complex process. At IBM Canada, which announced in June that it planned to eliminate more than 800 jobs by



The secret boom: our underground economy

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

There's a hot rumor floating around British Columbia: boardrooms these days that has seen even their most substantial occupants (in a hurry) according to the latest buzz, the new friends to its next budget to introduce a form of wealth tax.

Apart from its ideological comfort zone, imposition of such a tax by a new government makes sense for two reasons: it's the only form of taxation that the Pacific coast's neo-conservative governments has yet to tap, and Minister Mulcahy, the province's recently appointed deputy attorney general, authored a paper when he was dean of the University of Victoria's Law School advocating precisely such a levy. (There are several variations but the Mulcahy model calls for every taxpayer to contribute his or her assets—house, car, personal effects, investments, and so on—subject outstanding debts. Then pay out a four- or five-per-cent assessment on the full price. This newly revised model would replace all other forms of taxes, including income tax and the GST.) What would be so attractive about the scheme as a nationwide basis—though it does invite assets and savings that have already been taxed when they were originally earned—is the size of the available pot. Estimates of Canadians' personal wealth range from \$1 trillion to \$4 trillion.

Should a wealth tax be imposed—said Ontario's Fair Tax Commission has recommended a similar scheme—this country's more affluent citizens, whose combined federal provincial personal income taxes are edging up to 50 per cent, would begin to join some of the country's less economically advantaged citizens. Still, there's a limit beyond which higher taxes prompt revolution instead of compliance. Canadians' traditional deference to authority has historically extended to the uncomfortable act of paying more. For, the last matter even to challenge on their business Revenue authorities show that while incomes of billions of dollars are

There comes a point when governments stop being believed and taxpayers rise up and shout: "Enough!" That moment is here.

unreported, 50 per cent of household returns are filed on time.)

But there comes a point when governments stop being believed and taxpayers rise up and shout: "Enough!" That moment is here.

Several organizations, notably the Regulated Canadian Taxpayers Federation (RCTF) are dedicated to mobilizing these sentiments. It estimates that three decades ago the average Canadian family paid 30 per cent of its gross income in taxes. By 1988, taxes had risen to 40 per cent of earnings, a stunning 33-per-cent increase. The RCTF already has more than 300,000 members and aims to become an effective "counterweight" (as opposed to "opponent") interest group, opposing the "intrusions not of an angry minority but of a furious majority."

The group has yet to adopt an official slogan, but it could do worse than to use the closing lines of a speech delivered to its founding convention last February. "There is no higher sovereignty or sovereignty than the people," Lem Usher, the leader of a corresponding American initiative group, belatedly at delegates. "It's your government—take control of it!"

That kind of populist uprising recalls a

distinct possibility, but other, more subtle forms of tax revolt are all around us. Rare is the Canadian household who hasn't been offered a charity discount by some application service technicians, providing the payment is strictly cash. It's all part of the underground economy—the only sector of Canadian business that's really booming. Because it is clandestine by its definition and purpose, accurate figures are hard to come by, but the generally accepted estimate is that private customer cash transactions worth \$20 billion either go unreported or under reported.

What originally ignited this spark of discontent was the customer protest at the time of the Mulcahy government's introduction of the GST in 1991. The fact that Ottawa collected about \$96 billion from the GST over the past two years instead of the \$39.1 billion that should have come in, based on actual consumer spending, reflects the kind of tax avoidance that is going on. At the same time, income and corporate taxgathering across the U.S. border are flourishing. And more and more entrepreneurs are setting up work or changes that allow people to trade skills and services outside the tax system.

Despite its commercial roots, the underground economy is as much a political phenomenon. When people feel overtaxed and recognize few resultant benefits, they lose faith in the system and begin to drop out of its institutions, such as traditional political parties.

No complaint has gone further on this route than Latin America. According to recent estimates, the black market in Peru, for one, accounts for an estimated 40 per cent of retail trade and 16 per cent of public bonded tolls. The Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto maintains that this is at should be because "it's a norm for underground economies: there would be more hunger, unemployment, and misery. Thanks to the creative and spontaneous response of the impoverished masses, the poor have jobs and access to consumer goods." Former Peruvian president candidate Mario Vargas Llosa notes that argument sets stop further when his points out that the underground economy taking over his country is revolutionizing the very foundation of Peru's society.

That's the real story of the underground economy. The success of all that defiance that has unfolded over Canada through much of our 125-year history has burned itself out. For too long, we have excelled at making the word of bad situations, underestimating our individual and collective wealth, pretending that the politicians know best and that our duty is to quietly finance their vote-getting games.

Fighting disorder more than exploitation, we dribbled away our self-esteem and our patriotism as the revolutions we failed to launch and the rains we didn't take. That self-deprecating ethic may have worked for us once, but that era long ago. Now is the time for all good-minded voters—to come to the aid of themselves.



1993 Canada Summer Games

Kanicon, 3 C.I.C.-8,
August 8 - 21 août



JEUX DU
CANADA
GAMES

Logo design: Doug Bevan, Centre Vancouver

Highlights:

- Premier amateur sporting event in Canada
- 4,000 athletes, coaches, managers and officials will participate
- Funding from Federal, Provincial, Five governments and the corporate sector
- Budget of over \$20 million for capital and operating costs
- 300 media expected including CBC/SRC
- over 7000 volunteers involved
- events for athletes with a disability included for first time
- integrated Native participation

COMMISSION
SPORT
1993

COACHES ARE TRAINED, TOO



The most influential person in the life of a developing athlete is often his or her coach.

Parents, to be sure, are a youngster's first model, but when it comes to athletics and the building of dreams, a coach is an undeniably powerful figure. Kids crave trust and logic, seeking out a devoted, experienced coach who helps shape both "wins and losses, such as the belief in fair play, integrity and respect for opponents and officials.

Coaches have always held the kind of power, and yet small moments, that most coaches know to understand the job is to establish guidelines of professionalism or rules of conduct.

Enter the Coaching Association of Canada and the National Coaching Certification Program.

"The coaching association began in 1971 and grew out of a recommendation in a 1969 federal task force on sport," says John Bales, vice president of the CAC.

"Our mandate is twofold: to promote the National

Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) and to move toward professionalization in coaching."

Most of Canada's coaches are volunteers, a vital but fragile network of enthusiasts, parents and ex-athletes. They need training just as much as

the young people who are learning physical skills and game strategies from them. The Canada Games was a case in point. Until the mid-1980s, all emphasis has been on preparation of athletes. The Games' success created a need to help coaches on a plane with the athletes.

The 1989 Games in Saskatoon were the first to require coaches to have a minimum level of certification under the NCCP Level Two of the first-level program. Again for 1991, the coaching requirement was set for Level Two and it has risen to Level Three for 1993, a significant milestone in the experience and commitment of coaches.

The 1993 and subsequent Games will also require that specific coaching positions be occupied by women. One of the coaches, for instance, for women's hockey teams must be female.

"With the culture of athletes improving, it's crucial that coaches come up to standard," Bales and



"The respective provinces have created a scenario.

"As a result of required certification, there have been a lot more opportunities for courses and sharing of information."

The Level Three certification required of Canada Games coaches is a three-part curriculum: theory, in which flexibility and ethics are stressed; technical, which involves sport-specific skills and strategies; and personal awareness, which is an evaluation of whether the coach can effectively pass and communicate the knowledge and skills he or she has acquired.

"It's one of the biggest elite-education programs in the country. There are 74,000 people who take NCCP programs each year and more than 2,000 Canadians are at Level Three or better," Bales said. Most of the coaches at the last three levels are still volunteers. Levels first and two need to be full-time, or paid coaches.

"What we've seen is significant improvement of athletes' performance in the Games, not just at the top end, but the development of specific events is more pronounced. The coaching team has made most of the impact."

The Canada Games Council believes that Games athletes deserve the best possible coaching and promotion (see Level Three requirements, next page) and CEO Lane MacAdam. "Quality coaching goes hand in hand with quality performances."

CBC REMAINS A FAITHFUL MESSENGER

When the Canada Games flame is kindled again in Kamloops, B.C., the experience will be shared in living rooms coast to coast via the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The CBC is a fixture at the Games. As part of its national mandate, the CBC has been the messenger who has brought the action of the Canada Games home to the friends and families of the 30,000 participants since 1967. Its coverage has been crucial in delivering the message of Unity through Sport.



Dave Jones, Canada Games and Olympic medalist

beyond the heart communities.

"The Canada Games is a showcase for the talent of young athletes across the country," says Alan Clark, head of TV Sports for the CBC. "For some, their greatest accomplishments will be chronicled in Kamloops, the others, the Canada Games opens the door to international competition and acclaim. It is the CBC's privilege to bring these stories to Canadians."

A historical documentary, rich in both facts and sentiment, was put together by CBC producer David Naylor last year to help the Canada Games Council mark the 25th anniversary of the inaugural Games in Quebec City in 1967. It has caught the spirit, the highlights and the tributes of some of Canada's most famous athletes who came through the Games experience.

In 1971, when the Canada Games were in Saskatoon, a proud Dave Jones (later Kowalski) carried the Games torch up the main-floor staircase in his home town. She had been a participant in the

3M

LONGINES

Investors Group

Canon

CrownLife

SPORT

Coaches Make a Difference

At every athlete who crosses the finish line, 1993 winners, there is a long line of people who will watch. Someone who shares in the victory, who will share the spotlight. Men and women who have given of their time and talents to help others make much more goals.

You'll find coaches out on winter mornings to instruct the kids working with their skis, or in pools to help young swimmers, or on the road, driving kids to "toss" games.

A coach can be the most influential person in the life of a developing athlete. When it comes to the building of dreams, a coach is an undeniably powerful figure.

Canada has produced some wonderful coaches — the names of Dave King, coach of our 1992 Olympic hockey team, Derek Brilling, coach of Olympic gold medalist swimmer Mark Lennox, and John Sauer, coach of silver medalist swimmer and Olympic silver medalist Sylvie Frechette, come to mind.

It is with the purpose of producing more world-class coaches that the Coaching Association of Canada has established the Coaching Endowment Fund. Our objective is to raise \$1 million by 1996. All donations to the fund will be held in perpetuity, with the interest being used to provide scholarships to individuals who want to pursue a coaching career through study at a National Coaching Institute.

With the help of our corporate partners, we have commissioned Canadian artist Ken Dryden to produce a limited edition poster titled "Coaches Make a Difference." These individuals and companies making a generous donation to the Endowment Fund will receive a Private Edition print. To find out how you can support coach education, write the Coaching Association of Canada at 1600 James Narbonne Drive, Gloucester, Ontario K1H 5N4.

The Coaching Association of Canada would like to thank the corporate partners listed below who have financed the production of the Dryden Private Edition print.

Coaching Association of Canada



1993


**JEUX DU
CANADA
GAMES®**
KAMLOOPS BC

The Games

Family

Thanks

the

Official

Sponsors/Suppliers

Kamloops 1993

Canada Summer Games

Official Sponsors and Suppliers

Bioscience Canada

Pepsi Cola/Gray Beverage

Quebecor/Desnoes (Desnoes)

Quebecor/Miscors Ltd.

Kamloops/Leslie's (Leslie's) Sales Ltd.

Bordenbank

Baker Canada Ltd.

Canadian Airlines International

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Sport Matic Inc.

University Canada Inc.

Canada Post Corporation

British Columbia Lottery Corporation

RCI Inc.

RCI Inc.

Bios Ltd.

**Kamloops, B.C.
August 8-21**

1989 Games.

Looking on as the sun with the flame, from the roofs of the Quebec state was a 12 year old speed skater named Gailan Boucher.

"It was the first time I was to participate in the open category, the first time I was up against athletes from ages 14 to 18," Boucher recalled in the CBC documentary.

"Seeing the athletes from the other provinces and from so many different sports was a taste of the Olympics. That is what makes the games."

For Boucher, the 12-year-old's dream blossomed into glorious reality from the launch pad of the Canada Games. He went on to win a silver medal at the 1980 Lake Placid Olympics and a stunning, head of two golds and a bronze in 1984 at Sarajevo.

Another of the athletes looking on from the Ontario delegation was a hockey player named Bob Gurney. He and his provincial teammates won gold in Sudbourn, and two years later he was the first-round draft pick of the Montreal Canadiens. Gurney, who played on five Stanley Cup winning teams, was captain of the 1988 Ice Eagles team.

Greg Joy, the Olympic silver medal high jumper (1976), noted that his Canada Games participation in New Westminster-Burnaby was an eye opener. It was his first big, multi-sport competition, and the experience was clarifying. "It brings you up to a certain level that competing

in your own sport just doesn't give."

Moving performance up to a new level was something also experienced by decathlete Dave Sten, who won Canada's first Olympic bronze in the event at Seoul. That was 11 years after he won the decathlon in the 1977 Canada Games in St. John's, Nfld. It was his performance there that won Sten a scholarship to the University of California at Berkeley.

"And that's when I became a full-time athlete, so the Canada Games was definitely one of the highlights of my career and a big stepping stone. The Canada Games is important for athletes in our country. Sometimes, I think it's more important than the international competition. In the face of Canada's strong record on doping and drug testing, it's important to put more emphasis on domestic competitions."

The Canada Games are an athletic growth experience, says rower Krista Bates, who competed in Saint John, N.B., in 1985 and won with two gold-medal crew last summer in Barcelona. She is currently employed by the Kamloops Hunt Society for the Games and is also promoting the Federal government's Stay in School program.

"The Canada Games are about learning to cope and to adapt to diversification," Bates said. "You learn the ability to work well with other people and to cope with the unexpected and any pressure and still do your best." ■



CBC 1993 CANADA GAMES TELECAST SCHEDULE

DATE (Eastern)

Sunday, Aug. 8

Monday, Aug. 9

Tuesday, Aug. 10

Wednesday, Aug. 11

Thursday, Aug. 12

Friday, Aug. 13

Saturday, Aug. 14

Monday, Aug. 16

Tuesday, Aug. 17

Wednesday, Aug. 18

Thursday, Aug. 19

Friday, Aug. 20

Saturday, Aug. 21

TIME

1830-1900 Opening Ceremonies

2200-2300 Games Day Coverage

2200-2300

2200-2300

2230-0030

1830-1900

2230-2330 Games Day Coverage

2230-2300

2230-2300

2230-2300

2230-2300

1930-1930

1930-2000 Closing Ceremonies

Totem poles, of course. Tall cedars gracefully transformed into quiet sentinels that speak volumes about man's history in this mystical place. They're graceful shapes that follow the grain, like our miles-high mountains that slide into deep green valleys. Or the city skylines that embrace Pacific shorelines. For an inviting look into this rare balance, call 1-800-663-6000 for our new Travel Guide. You'll find enough raw material to carve almost any vacation experience.

Super, Natural British Columbia CANADA

Why your next expedition should be to the poles.





THE CANADA GAMES 1967-92

The following is an excerpt from the 25th Anniversary commemorative book for the Canada Games, written by veteran Ottawa sports journalist Eddie McCabe.

About 50 years ago it was little more than a fabled dream, a half-baked mad notion, an idealistic vision.

Just 25 years ago it was a beginning. But still not much more than a good idea supported more by hope and enthusiasm than by reality.

Now it is a glorious Canadian tradition, well structured and appropriately financed, unquestionably a highlight of all Canada's amateur sports plans and programs, well planned and growing in stature and size with each biennial extravaganza.

With adding to the Canada Games, an international and national sports festival, added every two years, winter and summer games in turn. The past decade 25 years since those first and adventurous few steps were taken at the Winter Games in Quebec City in 1967.

Since that time, more than 75,000 Canadians have been directly

involved as volunteers in staging the Games and about 30,000 athletes and coaches have participated with hundreds of thousands of others involved in the extensive process leading to the Games. Without those volunteers sacrificing time and countless hours of effort and sooting the very fibres of each winter of the Games, the whole grand plan would have long since collapsed.

Among those volunteers were the leaders at each of the 13 host sites. They had to make major commitments, running over whole blocks of time lives in Canada, in doing so with creativity, imagination and inspiration. They also needed expertise in organization and planning, accounting, communications and all the other qualities required for those enormous undertakings.

IN THE BEGINNING/

But this idea came first.

The thought occurs that a number of persons must have entertained the notion over the years, but passed it by as an impossible dream. The first lead evidence of the idea came in 1924 at the first Garry Hotel in Winnipeg at the annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada.

Norton Green was the honorary secretary of the AAUC and he was writing from about 13 years of service. That was an Olympic year and, in his farewell remarks, he noted that for the first time since 1904, Canada had not won an Olympic medal in track and field.

A few anxious athletes in his youth in Toronto, Green had been for many years a national and international executive of such national and services, that a night had been put up in his name to be awarded annually to Canada's top amateur male athlete. He also was inducted into the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada Hall of Fame.

So when Norton Green gave his farewell address, his listeners expected some expression of significant thoughts, and they were not surprised when he suggested Canada's performance at the 1924 Olympics.

He suggested all British Empire Games be held and then added, "Another event I would like to see in the future would be what might be styled Canadian Olympic Games at some central spot in where all reasonable sports could be conducted in the same week. The necessity of federal funds would make this possible."

Both of those thoughts were put into motion and passed and the British Empire Games made their debut in 1930 at Hamilton, Ontario, just months after the death of Mr. Green. However, the idea of an all Canadian competition soon seemed to suffer some shortcomings for the longer term, and was forgotten for decades.

Copies of the Jeux du Canada Games 1967-1992 can be obtained from the Canada Games Council by calling (514) 745-5799 or fax (514) 745-5799 for \$25.95 GST. ■



PEOPLE

BUT SERIOUSLY...

Mal Brooks is a multifaceted individual, with an appreciation for the finer things in life. Besides creating such classic comedy movies as *Waking Neddim* and *Young Frankenstein* (1974), he does a fair impersonation of Mel Tormé's singing, as he demonstrated while talking to *Madeline's* in advance of last week's release of his new film send-up, *Robin Hood: Men in Tights*. As for the finer things, Brooks is a connoisseur of Canadian maple syrup and of Montreal smoked meat (during the filming of *Robin Hood* in Los Angeles, some can-



Brooks: "We've got to put out what's freshest."

ginner Hummel Mayer's mother brought some to the set from Mayer's native Montreal). Despite his good taste, film critics have often treated his movies as vulgar comic send-ups, replete with sex-at-once and R-rated language. "I am not from the city of Los Angeles," he said. "I mean as that the critics can get out of their mind." But seriously, Brooks was comedy as well, serious. "Comedy writers are the fathers of society," he added. "We've got to point out what's fraudulent in a vicious, funny way, of course." And as a producer, he has an often achieved effect as courted it. His breakthrough has among his credits such respected movies as *The Elephant Man* (1980) and *Chariot Race Road* (1987), and he recently brought the rights to *My Teacher's Aunt*, author Jane Yolen's portrayal of racial and social violence in South Africa. But something in the 87-year-old still can't resist a cheap gag. In *Play*, while previewing *Robin Hood*, he sat in the audience and roared over "greeners." "He added them all out-right," he said. "I said, 'Brooks, you'll know it when you see it.'"

Alive and well, back in Canada

After a difficult year, Arthur Kent will return to his native Canada in September as head of the long-running CBC series *Man Alive*. Kent was fired from the U.S. TV magazine show *Detention* via last August after he refused to take an assign-

ment in over-the-top former Yugoslavia. The 38-year-old person, who went on to rule out his own. An documentary on Bosnia in April is being set for \$25 million for wrongful dismissal, defamation and fraud. As for *Man Alive*, the new host welcomes the chance to work on a program that both has a reputation for integrity

and the value of facts.

Teenage veteran

She graduated from high school just one year ago, but pop singer Alanis has already seen her self-titled first album platinum, scored a jump for most powerful female vocalist, hosted her own TV show on MTV and appeared in a Hollywood movie, *Anything for Love* (1996). Now, *No Apologies*, a song from her new *Alanis* is the first album, in hitting the top of the charts. A ballad, *No Apologies* is a departure from the 18-year-old's trademark funky dance style. "It's cool that I can cross over from dance songs to a ballad and have people listen," Alanis said. "I don't want to have myself to have myself into a corner." The singer, who grew up in Ottawa and began writing songs at age 5, says her youth is nothing more than a myth. "After all," she explained, "if you take all the years I have been in this business, I'm almost an old-timer."

MAN OF THEATRE

Success in Canadian theatre may have seemed an impossible dream. But, as actor says Michael Bieganow says, "Things do change." Indeed they do. After years of struggle, during which he took to acting in industrial training films between intermittent stage jobs, Bieganow is arguably the most popular stage actor in Canada. Trained to star from as *Volpone* as the 30-year man of *Le Maitre* he set a world record by appearing in more than 1,000 performances in the season. Now, he is starring in *Don Quixote* in director Rob Phillips' Toronto production of the 1905 Shakespeare and Leigh St. Max of *Le Maitre* (Bieganow's real life love interest, Susan Gilman, plays *Don Quixote*). His production talent aside, Bieganow's Bieganow says that he is taking a cut of reward interest in the stage. "There was a time when a people would say theatre is dead and they would all go off to a movie," he adds. "Now, I see children in the audience. That is a wonderful thing—it looks like for the future."



Bieganow: "A wonderful thing."

and death with flamboyant human concerns. Said Kent: "You can't go through Afghanistan watching, smiling from the *News* and protecting themselves from Soviet weapons, or live through Tiananmen Square, without being impressed with the value of 'fuck.' And an own fuck." "It's a great thing," he replied. "It's been the source of great strength over the past year."



Kent



THE CANADA WINTER GAMES

SPRANKE PHASE, ALBERTA
FEBRUARY 10 - MARCH 4, 1995

* 3,500 - 4,000 Athletes

* 21 sports including wheelchair basketball, freestyle skiing and figure skating in Jasper Park

* 6,000 volunteers



Pride of the Lynx! Trying to make the transition from Triple A To 'The Show'

SPORTS

The capital gang

Ottawa fans embrace minor-league baseball

For decades ago, the national capital was, if only briefly, a regular stop on the canoe-league baseball circuit.

The Ottawa Athletics, the first team in the Philadelphia Athletics, played in regularly Leveeville Park between 1960 and 1964 and were remarkably ready for their secondary Popular support, too, until they were a spectacular failure to be fully ready for the visiting Havana Sugar Kings in the ball park one spring night in 1954 failed to secure his marriage. After another loss in the league, the team departed Ottawa for Columbia, Ohio, the following year.

How times have changed. One night last week, halfway through a long July home stand, all 10,322 seats in sparkling new Ottawa Stadium were sold out for the 12th game in a row. The attraction was the Ottawa Lynx baseball club—the Montreal Expos' Triple A affiliate. Facing the visiting Colorado Rockies, they needed for 12th time in a winning effort and drew roars from the crowd. While the Lynx have just more games that they have won this year, they still ranked second in their first-season class last week. And fans have taken to the ball park with a passion unmatched at

a city often branded as a cold-blooded haven of businessmen. "This has been an incredible experience," says Howard Bloom, 41, a marketing consultant who has counted only six home games this year. While "there's been a lot of disappointment" with Ottawa's two other pro teams, hockey's Senators and football's Rough Riders "everything has clicked with the Lynx," adds Bloom. "People here spend so much time in their houses from 10 to 12 to the spring, they can't wait to get out. And this is the place they come."

The success of the new Triple A franchise—awarded over a dozen other candidates in September, 1991, and bought at a cost of \$6.4 million—reflects hope that continues to be the case. Even the team's name is carefully calculated. Out of the 33,000 submissions by the public, "Lynx" was chosen because it has the same spelling in both English and French, and, says owner Bernard Deneau, "because I didn't want a really feminine name—I wanted one the kids could put on their parents' names." Other elements of the team's success are also so accident. The stadium, owned by Ottawa Valley Rail station, is an intricate architectural project, involving many visitors of Montreal's architect Jerry Puck. "There isn't a lot of

in the whole stadium," says Jerry Charbonneau, an Ottawa coach of two who, with husband Andre and wife's brothers, recently adopted a season ticket this year. And the ticket prices range from just \$4.25 to \$8.65—the cheap seats cost less than one-third of their equivalent for Seattle's hockey games. "It's not all that terrible family entertainment," says Deneau. "You can make the money you can't afford to come and bring the kids too."

Lynx' involvement also crashed in on a strong Montreal-Ottawa connection. When Deneau began working a Triple A franchise in 1984, then-Expos owner Charles Bronfman only offered interest in moving the club's Triple A Indianapolis team to Ottawa, says Deneau. "It was good business for him to be 100 miles away rather than 1,000." Primarily has followed the lead between the Expos and the Lynx. In fact, a horde of French-speaking Montreal sports reporters descended on Ottawa earlier this month when Montreal's pitcher Denis Bowden, a former Toronto Blue Jay acquired from a Triple A team in Las Vegas—made his first start in Ottawa in mid-July. The 35-year-old hurler has yet to win a regular spot in the Lynx starting rotation. "But," and Deneau, "we have a good team. It's close to home and it would be great to get to the Expos from here."

As always in baseball—and especially in the current—players come and go. "But they've all been digging and working and giving their best—and I've enjoyed having them all here," and manager Mike Quade standing on bases and been in his species of few after a quiet last week. Several Lynx players have already made the transition from Triple A To "The Show"—the major leagues—including pitcher Joe Saldai, a native of Windsor, Ont. Another likely to make a strong debut as a spot starter is Curtis Profile, a hard-hitting outfielder born with a hip-sore from his disability. The 24-year-old Trade communicates with coaches and teammates largely through lip-reading and signs, his hitting impairment is at minimum. "I'm not a player," says Profile, "I'm a fan." "I'd like to play to him and he calls for it, that's his argument—I'm definitely his."

The question facing the Lynx now is how to carry their success into the future. New minor-league teams often open a two- or three-year honeymoon with their fans. In the Ottawa entry a year ago, the team's modest success in baseball is mirrored—led by the Blue Jays' World Series victory last year—and the fact that the other on teams in the "Expos" fan system are on track. "This is going to be a very good club next year," says club baseball writer Ken Warren. Clearly, a growing number of Ottawa fans have been hardly

GLENN ALLEN in Ottawa

SPORTS WATCH



The ageless lore of the long ball

BY TRENT FRAYNE

As part from the distasteful binging at the Toronto Blue Jays by youth Baltimore fans (the army), the most noticeable aspect of this summer's All-Star action was provided by a couple of down-choked musclemen of 25. Jason Gooden of the Texas Rangers and Ken Griffey Jr. of the Seattle Mariners, each of whose delivered tape-measure jobs in the home-run hitting contest.

Did you catch that phrase, tape-measure jobs? (Did it hit the senses?) It is a description, celebrating its 40th anniversary in a baseball cliché this season, certainly deserving of a niche at Cooperstown along with the couple number it not the failed fly rule.

Tape-measure jobs, as the phrase applies to baseball, was created by a well-known man named Arthur Patterson, naturally called Bud, on the afternoon of April 17, 1932, in Washington. I know Patterson several years later when he was a vice-president of the California Angels and assistant to Gene Autry, the retired cowboy who became the ball club's owner when he quit and disappeared. On this April day in Washington, Red and his lively assistant were employed in the publicity department of the New York Yankees and, seated at the press box of the old Griffith Stadium, he left his blue eyes open in following the flight of a ball launched by Mickey Vernon, the crunched Yankee outfielder. The ball soared right-handed, dropped from its earth orbit beyond distant banks of bleacher seats in picturesque field, and it sent Patterson scurrying to retrieve it as a keep-alive for Maude.

Years later, Patterson revealed that across the street from the ball park as a transient yard he had camouflaged a small hog hold-up in a slightly neglected basement. "The lad showed me where he'd picked up the ball and I walked at the distance from there to the base of the bleachers, realizing it was not hell of a joke."

When he returned to the press box, a guy asked, "How'd it do?"

"I figure 525 feet," Patterson recalled replying. "It was a real tape-measure job."

"One Patterson, who died one year ago in California, began using this cliché to the great old pros. Since then, a long home run surprise on earth is usually characterized as a tape-measure job, Billingsley's All-Star recollections being an exception. There, in the home-run contest, the aforementioned Jason Gooden batted a homer about the flag of the third deck in left field at Camden Yards. Officially evaluated the ball would have covered 525 feet but it was not

radically interrupted. In the year and a half since Canadian Yards had opened, nobody had hit a ball against a booming red-shirted warehouse beyond the right field bleachers, which are 525 feet from the plate. Young Griffey, following Gonzalez, launched a ball off the warehouse and right field above the ground at least 580 feet away. "No doubt about it," testified a television announcer, "that was a tape-measure job."

Tape measure jobs cultural lingo and serves as well in baseball's 50th anniversary People in Toronto's old Big Mabel will re-

counted in hushed tones a tape-measure job delivered by Jose Canseco in the American League playoff between the Oakland A's and the New York Yankees in October 1988. It was a mammoth drive in momentum drive in 1988 and provided a tape-measure job has already been employed in the same paragraph. The ball soared along the left field foul line into the fifth deck. The young man at SkyDome who measured the drive's length, Jay Seasholtz, puts the distance at 450 feet.

"It is an exact science," says Seasholtz, displaying a chart of the five decks of SkyDome seating beyond the outfield fence. At the bottom of the Blue Jays, a group of ESPN cameras stands from the University of Toronto would not distances from home plate to every section beyond the fence, and these, together with a trajectory graph that maps a ball's flight, are Seasholtz's tools. Similar charts help the calculations of coaches in other major league parks. "Use the charts we estimate how far the ball would have gone if it hadn't hit the seats," Seasholtz says.

Apparently nobody has hit a ball 580 feet at the Toronto park, as Griffey and Gonzalez did in Baltimore (it must be remembered that the two sluggers did their damage against a batting-practice pitcher halfway through the inning). Indeed, a single fly or pop fly, the Canseco pitch is easily the longest in SkyDome since its opening ball game on June 5, 1989. However, two balls crashed over the outfield fence in the home-run contest over in Toronto's All-Star game in 1991, one here, addressed the Canseco willow. Back of Griffey's head at a velocity near 100 mph above the fence in straightening contact, giving Seasholtz's tool at between a 405 and 460 feet. Fielder, once a Blue Jay reserve and now Detroit's rally guy Hercules, hit just two balls as the roof of Tiger Stadium, built on cogwheel in 1961.

"That one," I really remember," says Dave Donald, Detroit's publicity boss, "was hit by Reggie Jackson in the 1971 All-Star game off Pittsburgh's Dick Enis. This one of Reggie's hit the light tower on the roof in right field, but I'm sure."

Gooden's Patterson invented the tape-measure job 60 years ago, on such emphasis was accorded home-run distance. The legend of Babe Ruth painting to the centre field bleachers in Winfield House during the 1918 World Series and then delivering a home run over the fence in 1920 was a myth. The story of the famous home is never told. The recovered sold at Wrigley is 400 feet from the plate, but the ball's trajectory and landing place have been lost to the state.

Of course, it was Ruth and his home-run partner Lou Gehrig who popularized distance in baseball. The year 1927 was a great one in 1927, for instance, the year Ruth hit 60 homers and Gehrig 47, only one other player in the entire league reached double figures, and none of those topped 30. Chances are, lots of the balls batted by Ruth and Gehrig were tape-measure jobs, but there were no Red Patterson on hand to say so.

A MODERN STORY



As the groves and greenlands of Garfield Lake Conservation Area in southwestern Ontario come next to the Girl Guides of the 1890s. Over here, a counselor holding a pointer stands in front of an oval, bearing a unisexified chart and talks about how to deal with mud on a horse. Over there, another counselor assembles a chicken on a stylized wooden perch without missing a syllable in her lecture on both control. The motto "Be prepared" has taken on a whole new meaning within the 86-year-old movement—and it goes well beyond the prevention of unwanted pregnancy. The Girl Guides once centered to award badges for sewing, outdoor cooking and archery, but lately have become a launchpad for feminism. At last month's annual meeting, workshops taught the 12- to 18-year-olds about employment equity, date rape, self-defense, teenage pregnancy, coping with cancer, smoking, and how to relieve stress through yoga. The years may come in handy not only are recruits having to compete with the commercialized Scouts Canada for new members, but many Girl Scouts in Canada also think that their local troops, called units, should be getting a bigger share of the money from cookie sales.

Although hundreds of the girls now sell calendars and soap to raise money, cookies are what really kept the Guide machine—

Girl Guides change their program—and ask where the money goes

and they're big business. They're also at the heart of an argument, born in the United States, that the Guides' administration is eating much of the profits. During the 1985 spring campaign, Canadian Girl Guides sold more than 544 million worth of cookies. About one-third of the money went to the manufacturer, Toronto-based Christie Brown & Co. "The Guides' provincial and regional administrative costs take up the rest and passed part of it on to local units. In Ontario, more to exactly half of the nation's 280,000 Guides, local units (troops is the Scout world) got about 30 per cent of a \$5.5 million provincial profit—or roughly \$750,000. By contrast, Scouts troops keep all the money they make from apple sales and 70 per cent of the proceeds from their national tree-planting program, which raised more than \$1 million last spring. "It's a lot of work to sell cookies," says 15-year-old Jennifer Rogers of Toronto

"But we don't seem to make much money." Christie Brown, who has been supplying Canada's Girl Guides for 31 years, refused to divulge how much it makes from the sale currently about an million boxes a year. However, it says, the Guides are treated differently from the usual customer. "We have a very special relationship with them," says Sam Friedman, director of public affairs for Nabisco Brands Ltd. which owns the cookie company. In addition to giving marketing advice, the company made the Guides a leadership video and is doing public relations for a new mint cookie campaign this fall. "This is a huge endeavor," says Friedman. Michael Tait, a former Scout and manager of the Toronto-based Christie Brown, says the Guide administration spends too much of the profits. "These places have become too top-heavy," says Tait. "It's supposed to be simple for kids." The Cookie Store donates more than 5,000 gourmet cookies to charities each year. "We never take a cut," says Tait.

Guide officials insist that the organization needs the cookie money to finance and improve programs for thousands of girls. In the Ontario council, where cookie proceeds make up more than 50 per cent of the \$1-million budget, the funds are used to support 20 full-time office staff, counselors and adult leadership training, among other things.

Issues: Name Roles, a spokesman for the council. "The girls are our first priority." For some fundraising experts, the problem lies in having girls push products to make more money. "If the Girl Guides did that to their customers, for instance, they would probably make more money," says John Bous, a certified fundraising consultant at Ottawa. When designing campaigns to raise money, Bous says, selling products is usually the least successful option. Few of the people buying items to support an endeavor realize that only a fraction of the cost usually goes to the cause. "It can be misleading," says Bous, adding that consumers should get a cost breakdown. "People may think that the girls get most of the money."

In the United States, where less than 15 percent of profits go to local Girl Scout units, cookie sales have touched off a full-scale controversy. Critics there say that a bloated administration is using child labor in fact as in suitable expertise for funds. The Girl Scouts raised \$555 million last year in cookie sales. But administrative costs ate up \$400 million—with cookie profits representing more than half the money. Among American girls who also start selling as young as five, the competition for cookie customers can be fierce. The Wall Street Journal, which launched a major investigation of the practice, listed trading sides, team games, tele marketing, and fax lines as tools used to boost sales. Despite that, says Ellen Acta, a spokesman for the New York-based Girl Scouts of the USA, "The troops get enough to run their activities."

In Ontario and elsewhere, the pressure to sell can be intense. "Everyone buys from the cake table because of my stress," complains 12-year-old Guide Shannon Knights of Toronto. "I have to go to a mall to sell myself." But it's the two-month delay between cookie orders and delivery that frustrates 14-year-old Tanya Russell of Wilket, Ont. "People want their cookies now," says Russell, adding that she has lost sales because of the delay. "They hate having to wait." More importantly, critics question whether pushing baked goods gives Guides the right focus. "I would like to see them selling something besides cookies," says Canadian author Roberta Bender, who acted as honorary director of the 50th Girl Guide camp "They're not even maternal."

National or not, the nationwide cookie sale helped pay for the Guide camp—"not a problem," and a Guide official reply, "that's a Scout word." For thousands of Guides, keeping the Scouts, their mentors and their traditions at arm's length is essential to survival. "I'd go so far as saying it's a type of sacredness. Scouts who sell cookies on the side: the Girl Guide path to keep up with the times is reflected in their determination to be a haven for nurturing young women. Although Scouts Canada's decision last November to become more secular and less overtly religious, despite the idea of recognizing how few sup-

porters "We won't let in boys," says Maisha Ross, chief commissioner of the Girl Guides of Canada. "Girls do better in a single-sex environment."

The organization's determination to keep the Guides relevant has also prompted a review of the so-called Guide Law, which defines the perfect Guide as "among other things, one who is obedient, sure in thought and always ready to smile and sing 'Wee-ah-ah-ah'."



Discussing women's issues, a Columbian quartet (right), and the 50-year meeting of Garfield (opposite). "Be prepared" takes on a whole new meaning at a movement now content to award badges for such things as sewing and archery.



der difficulty." Says Ross, "It might not be an appropriate message for young girls. We will probably make some changes. The new first issue dress was widely evident at the Garfield camp." "My school always has pep rallies for girls' teams but never for us," complained a often, unheeded girl during one workshop on women's rights. "Yeah," added another, "but boys get the best equipment in girls' class." One girl, chiding her friend's list of activities at a workshop on women's issues, said, "I hate when someone says makeup to bed. Everyone knows you would wake up with it." For many girls, it is a new chance to wear their traditions. Says Ross, "The goal is to help girls gain confidence in themselves."

Sitting away from where the boys are, say Guide leaders, eliminates a distraction to

deceiving such fields as employment equity. Those who showed up at Garfield heard several career tales from women in nontraditional jobs. Even nursing, one of the few male-dominated occupations mentioned during the event, was presented under the title "Hey-Boo! Bertha Radpan." "Girls were more sobering topics in one circle. Guides played something called 'Suicide Jeopardy' which required them to yell 'yes' or 'no' to

statements like "lack of energy is a symptom of suicide." The two presenters looked amazed when Elizabeth Carey of Harland N.B., piped up that her brother had shot himself the previous fall. "That's too bad," said the pollster/leader, pausing not only before singing a catchy tune called "To Be With You West to Die But I'll Be With You East," their reaction was confusing. Said Carey, "I don't think you can have fun with suicide." Erika Ensey of Winnipeg agreed. "This is not a kind of 'hey,'" admitted Ensey, 14. "I don't want to do anything new." For an organization struggling to emerge from dormancy by media and tradition, that might be a suitable motto for the decades of change ahead.

DEANE BRADY in Guelph

Licence to thrill

Connelly and Ford get their second wind

Older men are getting off the sedentary couch with *Amelie* Schwarzenegger, who, along with her own ego in the box of *Ice Cube* *East Asian News*, the summer's new heroes are seen over 50. Clint Eastwood, Sean Connery and Harrison Ford. Eastwood, 60, talks and pulls his way through *The Long Walk Home*, in a U.S. Secret Service returns looking for a last chance to take a bid for the President. Now, Connery, 60, and Ford, 51, are up to their old tricks in two new Hollywood thrillers. In *Ring* *See*, Connery removes his James Bond persona to play a suave detective calibrating a Japanese culture. In *The Fugitive*, based on the classic TV series, Ford plays another run along, jumping out vigorously. Both heroes live by their wits, using cranks as a last resort. But while Connery's character always out-kennedy him ahead of the plot, Ford's is in a last-ditch—like Indiana Jones trying to outrun the boulder.

Ring See, adapted from the Michael Crichton best-seller, is a rather long-winded thriller mystery with a crosshatch of female elements: crime, better between a white cop and a black subculture, a smaller corporate conspiracy, a splash of Asian heritage, crime, science and a dash of being in the police plot. Based on Crichton's customary tale about Japan taking over America's economy, *Ring See* is a thriller. The *Fugitive* is on close examination no less ludicrous. But you hardly notice, because the movie is much less plot-driven.

The *Fugitive* is a simple but exciting exercise in suspense, kept tight by superb performances from Ford and Timothy Lee Jones. Acting with an intensity that quivers between fear and rage, Ford seems ideally cast as Dr. Richard Kimble, a Chicago surgeon wrongly convicted of murdering his wife. His even better, hearted/haunted look, and it seems fitting that a star with a profound interest in celebrity exposure is playing someone who lives in isolation due to being recognized. Jones, meanwhile, brings an acerbic wit to the role of Sam Gerard, the U.S. marshal who is hot on Kimble's tail, along with a touchy partner (Joe Hanzone) and a crew of idiosyncratic cops.

Plotting glimpses of the thriller look start the plot. Kimble comes home to find his wife (Pia Warrilow) dead. Her killer, a unnamed man (Andrew Keeney), goes away. After being convicted of the crime, Kimble escapes from custody on a boat that in involves a spectacular collision between a freight train and a prison bus. Defying

death and logic, Kimble also survives a dive from an enormous cliff. But then the action settles down into a marathon game of hide-and-seek. And when Kimble is not running, he is doing housework. His hunt for the one-eyed man becomes a kind of research project, with a computer trail of clues that leads to the richest profession. In the end, some big questions remain unanswered, including the motive behind the wife's murder.



Ford on the trail of the one-eyed man in a marathon game of hide-and-seek

But the thriller is just a premise for a fact-based, which has an inimitable momentum all its own. As dueling pleasures, Ford and Jones add a psychological dimension to the hard-boiled drama. And film maker Andrew Davis (Under Siege) directs *The Fugitive* with such gritty documentary realism that the fiercest points of the plot seem beside the point.

Ring See, however, is a whodunit. And the characters of who's doing what and why are important. Like *The Firm*, the summer's other thriller based on a best-seller about corporate conspiracy, *Ring See* takes substantial liberties with the author's original story. Crichton, who collaborated on the screenplay in the early 1990s, dropped out after disagreements with director and co-writer Philip Kaufman. Kaufman has salvaged the novel's paranoia about the Japan

rise. He has changed the identity and nationality of the killer. And, throwing a curve into the moral picture, he has cast a black actor, Wesley Snipes, as one of the two leads.

Snipes plays Web Smith, a police officer investigating the murder of a young woman in the backrooms of a Japanese corporation in downtown Los Angeles. She was found "lying flat on her back like a piece of sushi," in the words of a cop played by a wonderfully caustic Harvey Keitel. And she appears to have been strangled while engaged in a love scene (a scene recorded on later disc and re-played through the novel). Smith is teamed up with John Connor (Connery), a detective so familiar with the Japanese that he could be working for them. The story unfolds as a quest, with Connor serving as the guide (person) who leads the apprentice (Smith) through a maze of cultural codes and technological intrigue.

In a role that Crichton created for him, Connery performs a feature-length homage

to his old 007 self: elegant and scorching, with a marauding sense of humor. Snipes, however, is stuck sitting all the dumb questions. Aside from a token visit to the black ghetto, where he gets to play nice guide, he serves as Tokyo to Connery's *Long Ranger*. There were charges that the novel took a worrisome view of the Japanese. In the novel, that is overshadowed by a racial stereotype much closer to home.

Director Kaufman has a lyrical touch. But the slack pacing of *Ring See* seems all wrong for a thriller. As usual, Connery is a pleasure to watch. Yet he seems almost too comfortable cooing on the James Bond set—just recalling a date where action heroes still needed a license to kill.

ERIAN H. JOHNSON

Help Maclean's Plant A Tree For The Future...

A child knows that trees are wonderful for climbing and beautiful to point. You know how important trees are for a healthy environmental future... and so do we.

That's why, when you take a year of Maclean's, we will plant a tree in a town or city in your province, in conjunction with Tree Plant Canada through The National Community Tree Foundation.*

It is their goal to plant 325 million trees in towns and cities across Canada in the next 7 years — trees to help purify our waterways, clean our air, and beautify our cities.

Together we can make our towns and cities cleaner, more beautiful places to live. Simply clip and mail the coupon below and start your Maclean's subscription for just 77¢ a week—you save over 2/3 off the cover price!

Subscribe to Maclean's, and help us plant a tree for the future today!

FAX THIS COUPON
TO (416) 596-2510

Yes, I'll Plant A Tree For The Future!

☒ Start my Maclean's subscription for \$2 issues for \$39.95 (just 77¢ a week — over 2/3 off the cover price). Please bill me, and plant my tree as soon as possible!

☐ New subscriber ☐ Renewing subscriber

Name

Address

City Province

Postal Code

Or clip & mail: Maclean's, Box 400, Sister A, Toronto, Ontario M5P 2S1

Maclean's

*Tree Plant Canada through The National Community Tree Foundation will plant a tree in a Canadian town or city for each Maclean's subscriber each year. For more information on Tree Plant Canada call 1-800-963-8202.

Songs in a brave new key

Jane Siberry explores sexual ambiguity with a new album

Most performers would call getting sound during a concert their worst nightmare. Not Jane Siberry. Although she admitted that last year, at the height of a celebrated 12-year career, the singer-songwriter now refers to the experience as an "initiation rite." It was September, and Siberry was performing in Edinburgh as the winner of the British art-rock Meik O'Neil, best-known for his 1973 hit "Tinkler Bells." Siberry has a following in Britain where she has received critical raves. But rather than play older material that might be familiar to the audience, she chose to introduce all new songs. It wasn't, as she recalled last week, what they wanted to hear. Accompanied by former Blue lead to key boardist Bobby Wieseman, Siberry sat short but set after hearing scathing boos from the crowd. Transmuted, she retreated behind a curtain where she decided that her whole life had been "noise from other noise," admits Siberry.

"I lost all my reference points, my niche, my instincts, every thing. I went down as deep as something sounded inside me." But the Toronto-born artist has emerged with renewed vigor. This week, she released *When I Was a Boy*, her boldest and possibly best album to date.

Siberry, 37, has become known for singing "I just feel it's not the right time to be pussyfooting around."



Siberry: "I don't sing just about, anymore songs anymore."

at that such odd brew comes from. Siberry says. Still, Siberry has always acted as one critical listener to his songs.

Recently the music has come from some dreamlike lines. On the new album, it's long poems that Siberry is singing. Calling *All At-*

her's work "overwhelmingly lovely," produced two tracks on her new album. According to Marchitelli's Denise Dutton, Siberry and Siberry are a perfect match. "Like him, she takes a millennium approach to her art, producing highly sensitive videos for her songs," says Dutton. "And she's always followed her muse."

When *I Was a Boy* is the work of an artist making about some songs, like *The Gospel According to Dickens* and *All the Clouds in the World*, with its lyrics about "faint pain" and "The stars of the night," reflect Siberry's inner turmoil and a troubled view of the world. Others, including the pulsing, Eno-produced *See Anna* the Water convey many strength and optimism. Predictably, there are a few enigmatic numbers, such as *The First the Last*. But overall, the lyrics are some of the most direct and accessible in Siberry's career. Several numbers especially the sensitive opening track, *Twelve*, even lean the musical rhythms of urban dance music. As her longtime guitarist, Ken Myhr put it, "It's like she got a lot of power with this album. She wants to reach some people."

Perched on a stool in the kitchen of the small townhouse she rents in midtown Toronto, Siberry speaks about the need to make her songs more relevant. One critic said she should "be a singer of the real and surreal" in her work. And Siberry often talks in abstracts, interpreting the world around her in apocalyptic terms. "I just feel it's not the right time to be pussyfooting around, creating fantasies that people can enter or not," she said. "There are strange times. The battle is in between darkness and light. And when some of the most beautiful, richest people I know are talking about suicide, there's something very wrong."

But in several new songs that deal with the search for spirituality, Siberry expresses her belief that there is reason for hope. "Most

young people have now rejected the religion they were born into," she said. "They've moved through the other religions and are now saying, 'I haven't found what I need anywhere outside of myself, so I will create a temple within and worship there.'"

Meanwhile, the new album's title, *When I Was a Boy*, has raised a few eyebrows. And the sexually ambiguous text, in some cases, sexually ambiguous lyrics of some of the new songs are bound to confuse other Siberry followers. At her recent launch last month at Toronto's Rock club, Siberry is treated her well-publicized refusal for *See Anna* the Water and *See Anna* Skipped Gown (And *Steady Linked Arms*). Both are impressionistic films filled with female characters played by such personalities as socialist Holly Cole and Siberry's longtime friend and backup singer Rebecca Jenkins, who also is an established actress (*Over the Top*, *Bob Odenkirk*). *The Angel* and, set in a red-hot boiler, depicts women struggling in a dangerous game, occasionally embracing.

Siberry explains at the housewarming that has surfaced: "When people are talking 'homosexuality' is actually 'heterosexuality,'" says Siberry, adding her head. "It's something that women are in touch with. Of an girlfriend will be together on the floor watching TV just enjoying each other's physical energy." Siberry, single after ending a relationship with Toronto film maker Peter Menzies, added that she believes gay stars like Madonna, Prince and Elton represent "a diffusion of gender, not sexuality but perversity." And like them, she now seems to delight in creating an aura of mystery about her sexual identity.

Despite her talk of waterhood and her lyrical and video references to angels and goddesses, Siberry is now an honorary member of one of pop music's most elite hopefuls. Wieseman, Eno and Gabriel, along with Canadian musicians Daniel Lanois and Michael Biehn, also produced several tracks on *When I Was a Boy*, are all friends. And Siberry jokes about how the older men in her life are beginning to blur together. She has a special fondness for Eno. "He told me, 'Don't forget what you're really good at,'" she said, referring to her preference for her own complex, cerebral works.

Siberry took four years to make *When I Was a Boy*, rewriting the material twice. But she feels the result better reflects the changes she has been through. "The had a lot of things happen that have made me feel my dreams," she said. "One music industry person told me, 'We want the next Jane. The Jane that makes our hearts melt, not Jane doing therapy on record.' That kind of criticism really wakes you up. But I don't just want to be a singer anymore. And as long as I'm doing what I think is right, I'll be fine." Staying true to her artistic self, Siberry has passed through the darkness and come out on the side of angels.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS



You Could... Win A Week In Paris With FLARE

& Air Canada Vacations.

The Winner's Trip Includes:

- Round-trip airfare for two to Paris
- 6 nights in a 4-star hotel
- \$4,000 SPENDING MONEY!

Just use the coupon below to start your own subscription to Canada's Fashion Magazine - FLARE - and with this offer, score half off the cover price!

For faster service, fax: 1-816-396-2510



1/2 off the cover price! OFFICIAL CONTEST ENTRY

✓ YES! Send me 12 issues of Flare for just \$15* and enter me in the "Win A Week In Paris" Contest with any payment.

Name: _____
Address: _____
City: _____ Province: _____
☐ Bill me: Enter me in the Contest when I pay.
☐ Payment enclosed (include \$16.65 GST). Enter me in the Contest right away!
Send no money! In Quebec \$17.23 (includes GST). Valid only in Canada until Dec. 31/95.
*minimum 12 issues required.

FLARE City & Multi Flare, Box 4003, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 2B8
For a complete contest rules, visit: Flare Fashion magazine web 277-7676, Box 888, Toronto, ON M5T 1A7
Or call 1-816-396-2510 or 1-877-444-4444. Flare is a registered trademark of Flare Fashion magazine. © 1995



The name of the game is hardball

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It is absolutely assured the lobster and gold-plated pills that can be passed off as serious news on the front page of a serious newspaper. It is as predictable as the information tabloids that tell us Elton Still Lives and Two-headed Calt Born in Bull Pit (it is on the front page, give it a rather headline and you have some people actually believing it).

Richard J. Needham, a tried old editorial writer at *The Globe and Mail*, was a serious too when, at the end of his career, he was given a column of his own and spent a lot of his time making fun of his own paper, calling it *The Map and Pin*, or *The Grape and Pin*.

He would have had great fun with a straight-faced piece last week that went on at great length explaining how neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals would be indulging in negative tactics in the coming election. It would not be right, explained a Tory "strategist". The public mind would not stand for it, provided a "Globe" "editor".

Now, if a given in the newspaper trade that any front-page story that goes on at mind-boggling lengths (describing something in as little as three paragraphs) is to be taken as the opposite of the truth.

This particular *Globe* and *Pin* (thumb-sucker quoted extensively from "anonymous" sources and those "who declined to be identified," in a previous age of helms—i.e. when I was a postmaster—now "sources" were the party at the red table in the beer parlor in Vancouver's Chinatown. Today, it's a guy in a \$1,200 suit and a \$600 bracelet who takes a selfie in a black chair that consists of designer water and an arrangement on the plate before them that is better photographed than eaten.

Anyone who seriously thinks that there won't be dirty ball played in this fall's big league should not be allowed outside with our children, let alone to a voting. The more the "strategists" deep, the more you know they are figuring out a way to get their message across.



There was no coach money proffered to the hapless public prior to the Conservative leadership convention that was wanted to cry, if not try needier protection. All the back that it was lost and disastrous to contend Jean Charest's hugely careered life with Kim Campbell's lovely life (led from common sense).

People—that means delegates and not attorneys—up their own needs and the more television they have at the time facts of life make their best choices of their leaders. John Diefenderfer was horrible; he works near the end of his term, and the public didn't know that until Peter Newman's book on his reign forever changed Canadian political journalism.

Because the press didn't tell the truth it knew about John Kennedy's private life, it now won't let a grandiose story for a second and makes a national crisis out of a \$200

bagatelle that, as it turns out, didn't cost \$200 and didn't cause a single delayed flight at Los Angeles airport. Bill Clinton, as reporters see now revealing, is a very charming man who happens to be shifty. That's what reporters are for.

It's crazy to suggest, as the *Globe's* shy "sources" insist, that Jean Charest's declarations with both languages will not be an election issue. Of course it will, in the results of voters if someone else, as over the length of the two in each campaign in eighty would later be the tube. Canadians contemplate whether they would like him representing them in the international stage.

It's silly to suggest that no voter will ever compare, in making a choice, the fact of Kim Campbell's two unsuccessful times at campaign. Some won't care, some will, some may think that as an asset, not a detriment. Gary Hart was destroyed by his looks and Jean or Kim may be too by theirs. There is no law that anyone has to want to be prime minister.

The sin is politics—that which makes the voters equivalent when leaders proceed not to know that which they do. George Bush destroyed Michael Dukakis by letting his associates run Willie Horton. It's a sad confession that the Democratic candidate on Joyce's left, black man, offered an act of prison to rape white women.

George Bush, of course, showed any knowledge or responsibility for such tactics (and highly effective) tactics. George Bush ended up a wartime president because the public, as reflection, decided he was a decisive man in his own right.

It's the responsibility of the press to talk about Brian Mulroney's lies to corporate leaders, about MIA's dishes, about John Tanaka's lawsuits or Audrey McLaughlin's book.

If the Canadian public had known that William Lyon Mackenzie King had believed in spiritualism—as did the murdered Nancy Reagan—would they have kept him in power or let him go?

The problem in politics is not that we know too much about our leaders, or that we know too much about our leaders. It's that we don't know enough. Kim Campbell is still an empty book to most Canadians. They don't really know what they're about to say. Jean Charest has been an eager and energetic guy for decades, but as one knows whether he has it to him to be a leader.

Any "strategist" who pretends that these issues will not be issues this fall of course is a liar. That's why they are named "sources".

EARN 5% ON EVERY PURCHASE TOWARD A NEW GM CAR OR TRUCK.



No Annual Fee.

Every time you use the new GM Visa® Card, GM will credit 5% of your purchase toward buying or leasing a new Chevrolet, Geo, Oldsmobile, Cadillac, Pontiac, Buick or GMC Truck.

Use it with any of our GM Card partners and earn an additional 5% partner bonus, for a total GM Card rebate of 10%.

You can even earn 5% on money you've already spent—simply by

transforming your outstanding credit card balances to the GM Card.

Only General Motors of Canada Ltd. and TD Bank could bring you a product as revolutionary as this. It could mean

THE GM CARD.
THE NEW FINANCIAL
VEHICLE.

saving hundreds—even thousands of dollars—on savings that apply over and above any other incentives or rebates.

The new financial vehicle offers all the advantages of Visa, and there's no annual fee. So see your GM dealer or TD Branch today and start turning plastic into steel.

TO APPLY CALL
1-800-461-3279

CHEVROLET • GEO • OLDSMOBILE • CADILLAC • PONTIAC • BUICK • GMC TRUCK

Offer available on credit or new GM car or truck. Up to \$500 annually in maximum of \$200 over 7 years. No limit on number of times you can use. May be combined with other General Motors of Canada Ltd. offers. Specific GM Card Partner Program Rules. The GM Visa Card is issued by The Toronto-Dominion Bank. ®: Trademark of General Motors Corporation. ©2000 GM. ®: GM and Oldsmobile are trademarks.

Bacardi Breezer.

Bright. Light. Refreshing Taste.



Breezer's the one.

We took a splash of Bacardi rum, a touch of sparkle and delicious natural fruit juices to create a taste as light as an island breeze.

BACARDI Breezer. In five outrageous flavours. Calypso Berry, Caribbean Key Lime, Island Peach, Tropical Fruit Medley and Paradise Punch. Available in convenient 4-packs and one litre bottles.

ALL FLAVOURS NOT AVAILABLE IN ALL PROVINCES

BACARDI AND THE BAT DEVICE ARE REGISTERED TRADEMARKS OF BACARDI AND COMPANY LIMITED